

KING HASSAN II:  
Morocco's Messenger of Peace

BY

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Morocco's Messenger of Peace

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## ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this thesis is to examine the roles King Hassan II of Morocco played as a protector of the monarchy, a mediator between Israel and the Arab world and as an advocate for peace in the Arab world. Morocco's willingness to enter into an alliance with Israel guided the way for a mutually beneficial relationship that was cultivated for decades. King Hassan II was a key player in the development of relations between the Arab states and Israel. His actions illustrate a belief in peace throughout the Arab states and Israel and also improving conditions inside the Moroccan Kingdom.

My research examines the motivation behind King Hassan II's actions, his empathy with the Israeli people, and his dedication to finding peace not only between the Arab states and Israel, but throughout the Arab world. Critics question the King's intentions in negotiating peace between Israel and the Arab states. My research will show that while establishing peace with Israel and protecting his throne was a long standing goal of the King, his peacemaking efforts and actions in the Arab-Israeli dispute demonstrate that he was a messenger of peace and an altruistic leader.

## DEDICATION

To those who were patient, never gave up hope and constantly supported me throughout this endeavor.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## SECTION ONE



## INTRODUCTION

Often thinking of the relationship between Arabs and Israelis, peace is not the first thought that comes to mind. Since the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, Arabs and Israelis have been struggling to co-exist peacefully. If policy makers are aiming at stability in the broader Middle East, it is crucial to focus on establishing a better understanding between Israel and the Arab world. Morocco is one country that has recognized the importance of a strong relationship between these two groups. Morocco has put forth considerable effort both publicly and privately over the past several decades to improve relations between the Arabs and Israelis.

King Hassan of Morocco has been criticized that his main motivation for maintaining relations with the country of Israel, a quite controversial relationship, was the protection of the Moroccan throne.<sup>1</sup> In addition to Israel, he created and maintained relations with various countries to create a more balanced *Maghreb*, (the Arabic name for the area consisting of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and sometimes Libya)<sup>2</sup> and to improve the conditions inside the Moroccan state. A need for this research exists because citizens, leaders and scholars have questioned the King's sincerity and intentions for peace making, especially with Israel. A leading scholar in the area of *Maghrebi*-Israeli relations, Michael Laskier, suggests that Morocco's relationship with Israel was predominately used for eliminating the monarchy's

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<sup>1</sup> Michael M. Laskier, *Israel and the Maghreb: From Statehood to Oslo*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 138-139.

<sup>2</sup> Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (London: University of Cambridge, 1975), 1.

enemies, and not for the purpose of mediating peace between the Arab states and Israel.

Looking at both Arab and Israeli perspectives, it appears that the relationship between Morocco and Israel was mutually beneficial, and the underlying objective in this relationship was to encourage solidarity between the Arab states and Israel. In addition to this undertaking with Israel, the King's actions in the *Maghreb*, Middle East, and the United States demonstrates his genuine concern for establishing better relations in the Arab world and beyond, but also for the citizens of Morocco. My research demonstrates that while King Hassan had many reasons to protect the monarchy, his actions showed that he was a man who sincerely desired peace between Arabs and Israelis and was a leader that promoted better relations throughout Morocco and the Arab world. More importantly, his actions show that it was important to him to improve the conditions in his country for the future of Moroccan citizens.

## TERMINOLOGY

To ensure a clear understanding of the terms used in this thesis, "Arabs" or the "Arab world" or "the Arab states" will be used interchangeably and refer to the Arabic speaking populations located in the Middle East and Africa, consisting of 22 countries (including Palestine). The descendents or *sharifs* of Prophet Mohammed are given the honorable title of *Moulay* (literally meaning My Lord). Additionally, if

the descendant's name is Mohammed, *Sidi* (also meaning Lord) is placed at the beginning and the person is called *Sidi* Mohammed.<sup>3</sup>

## METHODOLOGY

The methodology used for this thesis was a historical reinterpretation of evidence based on primary and secondary sources in English. The knowledge of French and/or Arabic is strongly recommended for the access of additional primary sources.

## ORGANIZATION OF PAPER

The first section of this thesis consists of a literature review of perspectives on King Hassan's actions and motivations for protecting the monarchy. It also presents a historical background on Morocco, both before the French Protectorate and after Morocco attained independence from France in order to contextualize Morocco's relationship with other countries in the region.

Section two reviews the various arrangements King Hassan made as a mediator during the Arab-Israeli wars. The main review of literature in this section will be from a leading scholar in the area of Moroccan-Israeli relations, Michael M. Laskier. He suggests that a Moroccan-Israeli alliance was developed for the sole purpose of maintaining the King's throne. Other scholars suggest that Morocco allied with Israel (an ally of the United States) not only for protection of the throne, but also

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<sup>3</sup> C.R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), xxxi.

out of the fear of losing millions of dollars in economic aid from the United States.<sup>4</sup>

This section reviews Moroccan-Israeli relations and the role that King Hassan played as a mediator.

By reinterpreting the evidence in section three, this thesis argues that while King Hassan had legitimate reasons to protect his throne, it was also equally important to the King to be considered by others as an ally to the Jews due to Morocco's native Jewish population. This alliance enabled him to arbitrate more effectively between Arabs and Jews because of his objectivity to both sides. The initial alliance with Israel may have been a reaction to protecting the throne; however the partnership became a long-lasting connection that was beneficial for both Moroccans and Israelis. His actions proved that he was dedicated not only to solving peace between the Arabs and Israelis, but also to improving the conditions in Morocco.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### The Kingdom of Morocco

Morocco is notable for its location, diverse population and natural resources, all of which contribute to making the country distinct. Its unique location in North Africa positions the country as a potential peacemaking state. The Kingdom is located as the western-most country in North Africa.<sup>5</sup> Morocco is situated between

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<sup>4</sup> Mark A. Tessler, "Explaining the "Surprises" Of King Hassan II: The Linkage between Domestic and Foreign Policy in Morocco." *UFSI Reports* 3, no. 40 (1986): 8.

<sup>5</sup> Mir Zohair Husain, ed., *Islam and the Muslim World*, 1st ed., *Global Studies* (Dubuque: McGraw-Hill/Contemporary Learning Series, 2006), 192.

the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean and has been referred to as a gateway or meeting place, because of its neutral location. Morocco is the meeting-point of Africa and Europe and is situated on crucial maritime routes (along Africa's west coast, through the Mediterranean Sea and touching the Straits of Gibraltar in the north), making the country "one of the chief transit points of the globe, and in addition endowed with considerable natural wealth."<sup>6</sup>

Because Morocco is located on the African continent, some dismiss the location as lacking a Middle Eastern heritage. However, the country has the second largest population of Arabs – the first being Egypt.<sup>7</sup> Because of this, the King possessed the ethnic background to negotiate on behalf of Arabs situated in North Africa and the Middle East. Morocco's population is diverse; in addition to the Arab population, the country contains Berbers, Jews and Europeans. In fact, Berbers are the original inhabitants of the country. Berbers later converted to Islam. A census in 1947 (before the partition of Palestine) showed that the population in Morocco consisted of 8 million Muslims in the French zone, approximately 204,000 Jews and 325,000 foreigners.<sup>8</sup> The variety of ethnic groups existing in Morocco is a possible motivational factor for peacekeeping and it shows the country's receptivity to other cultures.

Additionally, King Hassan II's ancestry can be traced back to Prophet Mohammed. This gives him a religious obligation to unite Muslims around the Arab

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<sup>6</sup> Charles-Andre' Julien, *History of North Africa*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1970), 271.

<sup>7</sup> William Spencer, ed., *The Middle East* 11th ed., *Global Studies* (Dubuque: McGraw-Hill/Contemporary Learning Series, 2007), 128.

<sup>8</sup> Stephen O. Hughes, *Morocco under King Hassan* (Reading: Garnet Publishing Limited, 2001), 23.

world. It also allows the king to apply his religious authority as a method of reinforcing his power and advocating his political beliefs.<sup>9</sup> He is a member of the Alawite dynasty and is of *Sharifian* (*sharif* meaning noble) descent. The dynasty traces their lineage to Prophet Mohammed. This dynasty is a symbol of religious unity and of legitimate political authority in the country which allows the sultan to be known as *Amir al-Mu'mimin* (Commander of the Faithful).<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the country's location and population, Morocco contains two-thirds of the world's phosphate resources which make the country a rich resource for trading with other nations. Morocco is the largest phosphate exporter in the world. Another important resource is iron ore deposits, which at this time remain underdeveloped. There is a small but noteworthy amount of lead, mercury, nickel and antimony. An additional part the economy is the fishing and agricultural sector. Morocco's coastline provides a half-million square miles of fishing waters which accounts for 16 percent of exports. Agriculture employs 50 percent of the labor force and is responsible for 20 percent of gross domestic product.<sup>11</sup> Tourism has become increasingly important to Morocco's economy and is an important source for foreign exchange.<sup>12</sup> Economic relations are one way of opening communications with other countries having plentiful natural resources. These resources are the focus for increased trade and in building relationships with other countries. King Hassan II had the foresight to see the benefit of improving relations with other countries for both

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 289.

<sup>10</sup> Abun-Nasr, *History*, 228.

<sup>11</sup> Husain, ed., *Islam*, 195.

<sup>12</sup> Alan J. Day, "Economy," in *Europa Regional Surveys of the World: The Middle East and North Africa 2007*, ed. Lucy Dean, 53rd ed., (London: Routledge, 2007), 832.

economic and diplomatic reasons. He made alliances with many countries throughout his reign as King. The most controversial alliance he built was with Israel.

### Protection of the Throne

Previous research shows that King Hassan's relationship with Israel was a strategy to protect the monarchy. The longevity of the throne was indeed a motivating factor. The alliance with Israel was initially used as a strategy to protect his monarchical rights. In the early years of his reign, King Hassan faced a number of threats from within and outside of Morocco. *Moulay* Hassan II had legitimate concerns to stabilize the throne after being crowned King in 1961. Civil unrest owing to his authoritative leadership was occurring inside Morocco. During French rule and after obtaining independence, the *Hizb al-Istiqlal* (also referred to as the *Istiqlal* or the Independence Party) played a key role in political change in Morocco. Anti-protectorate groups that once supported the monarchy turned into resistance groups that demanded political change. They called for serious reform in the governmental system.<sup>13</sup> In addition, several assassination attempts were made on the King's life.

Another concern for security was the conflict in the Western Sahara with neighboring Algeria. Algeria supported opposition forces in the Western Sahara. Additionally, there was competition in the *Maghreb* for political dominance in North Africa between Morocco and Algeria. Divisions in the Arab world were becoming more apparent. President Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt rallied Arab countries to

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<sup>13</sup> Alal al-Fasi, *The Independence Movements in Arab North Africa* (New York: Octagon, 1970), 213.

support his radical and socialist ideas. He abandoned the idea of an Egypt-first policy and used the struggle against imperialism as a way to gain support from other Arab countries.<sup>14</sup> He ultimately divided the Arab states between radical and conservative regimes. In Morocco, he sided with royalist opposition groups.

To fully understand the motivations behind King Hassan's attempts at stabilizing his regime and the monarchy, it is important to review events in the country prior to achieving its independence as well as the creation of the nationalist party and various political groups. The system of government that existed prior to the Protectorate and before King Hassan ascended to the throne allowed the King a monarchial history. The *makhzan* (literally storehouse) the historical form of central government that existed in Morocco was divided into two parts. The first was called the *bilad al-makhzan* (government territory). This was hierarchical and autocratic. The citizens recognized the Sultan as a religious and political leader and paid taxes to him. The other section was named the *bilad al-siba* (dissident territory). It was known to promote equality and collectivity. The *bilad al-siba* mainly consisted of the Berber tribes who were organized no higher than the tribal level. Furthermore, these tribes recognized the Sultan as religious leader, but did not identify with his political authority and did not pay taxes.<sup>15</sup> The importance of the Sultan and his leadership was built into the agreement of the French protectorate. The French government modernized the *makhzan*.

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<sup>14</sup> P.J. Vatikiotis, *Nasser and His Generation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 232.

<sup>15</sup> John Waterbury, *The Commander of the Faithful: The Moroccan Political Elite - a Study in Segmented Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 17-19.



It was important to the French government for Morocco to develop economically, but the economic plan was the “structure on which the monarchy rested”.<sup>16</sup> The current system of government was outdated. The *makhzan* was implemented in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by the Alawite Dynasty and was firmly established by religious and political traditions.<sup>17</sup> John Waterbury, a respected authority on Middle East political economy asserted that “contemporary political behavior in Morocco has been historically conditioned, or is at least derivative to a substantial degree from the country’s past and its traditional social institutions”.<sup>18</sup> This is the case not only for Morocco, but for many countries around the world.

### The French Protectorate

Prior to France’s interests in Morocco, leaders of Morocco were fully aware of the country’s susceptibility to outside domination, *Moulay* Hassan II noted in his memoirs that,

the geographic position of our country, el Maghreb el Aqsa, ‘Land of the Extreme West’, best explains why it has been so greatly coveted. We are at the crossroads of seas, continents, peoples and civilization. This is why, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a number of foreign powers regarded Morocco as a strategic and tactical area of primary importance for their political, economic and military schemes.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 416.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Waterbury, *Commander of the Faithful*, 15.

<sup>19</sup> King Hassan II, *The Challenge: The Memoirs of King Hassan II of Morocco* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 11.

The King had a legitimate concern to defend the historical monarchical institution against other dominant countries. Despite the awareness, Morocco fell to foreign domination.

After the French protectorate was implemented, it modernized the existing central government in order to generate economic stability and reform. The first paragraph of the protectorate specifically stated,

The Government of the French Republic and the Government of His Sharifi Majesty, anxious to establish in Morocco a stable regime, founded an internal order and general security, which will make the introduction of reforms possible and assure the economic development of the country...

It also declared in Article 1 that the French government and the Sultan:

...have agreed to institute in Morocco a new regime permitting the introduction on Moroccan territory [of such] administrative, judicial, educational, economic, financial, and military reforms as the French Government may judge useful. This regime will safeguard the [prevailing] state of religious affairs, the traditional respect and prestige of the Sultan, the practice of the Muslim religion and [the operation of its] institutions, especially those of the habus [religious endowments]. It will allow the organization of a reformed Sharifi Makhzan [Moroccan government].<sup>20</sup>

The protectorate was designed to uphold the religious integrity of the Sultan while implementing changes to the economic system.

The French protectorate and the colonial authority's actions led the nation to protest the Protectorate. Nationalist groups formed when French authorities failed to include Moroccan's in the country's governmental system. Moroccan's eventually

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<sup>2020</sup> J.C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record*, 2nd ed. (London: Yale University Press, 1975), 551.

developed influential opposition groups in the country which threatened King Hassan. The first goal of the French colonial authorities was to “pacify” the central government. This was completed by a French military conquest and was termed pacification. Through their colonial experience in Tunisia, the French learned that working through an existing government was more advantageous than completely disassembling it as they had previously done in Algeria. Although the *makhzan* was unstable and the Sultan was not able to exert authority in some regional areas, the *makhzan* had existed for a thousand years and provided knowledge that would be extremely useful to protectorate authorities. The French ended the *bilad al-siba* and ruled by way of *bilad al-makhzan*. This allowed the French to eliminate one section of the outdated government, and modernize the other section while still following the guidelines of the Protectorate.

The pacification of Morocco took over 20 years. France provided Morocco the security and stability to develop economically and established a modern administration.<sup>21</sup> France’s objective was to expand commercial agriculture, industry, trade and mining.<sup>22</sup> France made changes to the *makhzan* and developed the economy. Colonial authorities did not actively involve the natives in the modernization process. Initially, a movement of nationalism began because of their frustration with the colonial authority.

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<sup>21</sup> Waterbury, *Commander of the Faithful*, 33-34.

<sup>22</sup> Robin Bidwell, *Morocco under Colonial Rule: French Administration of Tribal Areas, 1912-1956*. (London: Franck Cass, 1973), 64.

## Moroccan Nationalism

The nationalist movement and the Sultan aligned to become a prevailing force in the struggle for independence. The Sultan had occupied the Moroccan throne since 1927.<sup>23</sup> He saw the nationalists as a source to help him safeguard the integrity of the throne.<sup>24</sup> The Sultan and nationalist leaders combined and now found themselves in a position to force change inside the country. Nationalism inside Morocco eventually became powerful enough that the independence groups turned into anti-monarchy groups which posed a threat to the throne.

The nationalist movement in Morocco gained momentum in May of 1930 after the French protectorate issued a *dahir* (decree), stating that a separate form of tribunal law would be established in Berber populated areas to handle civil cases. This removed the authority of the *makhzan* and reverted to French law. It appeared that the French were trying to create a divide among the Arabs and the Berbers. The majority of Berbers lived in the rural areas of Morocco and the goal of the decree was to isolate the Berbers from the growing nationalism in more urban areas.<sup>25</sup> The outcome of this decree gave the nationalist movement the boost it needed, and the opposite effect of what the colonial authorities originally intended. Various types of

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<sup>23</sup> C. E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, "Al-Maghrib," vol. V (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 1194.

<sup>24</sup> Waterbury, *Commander of the Faithful*, 49.

<sup>25</sup> Gregory W. White, "Kingdom of Morocco," in *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. David E. Long, Bernard Reich and Mark Gasiorowski, 5th ed., (Boulder: Westview Press 2007), 459.

citizens became involved in the movement, from intellectuals to traditionalists and skilled laborers.<sup>26</sup>

These groups calling for reform later developed into anti-protectorate groups that demanded full independence from France. One of the first nationalist party's doctrines was the declaration that, "Morocco is a country inextricably attached to Islam" and "Morocco is loyal to a royalist regime."<sup>27</sup> There were several movements with different names however, their goals were all the same according to one *Istiqlal* leader, "one movement seeking liberty, unity and rejuvenation."<sup>28</sup> Moroccan students, mostly French educated, called for a reform in 1934. Initially, the goal of the group was to solicit changes to the French protectorate. Despite their efforts, the colonial authorities dissolved the group in 1937. Shortly after, the groups combined to form the *Istiqlal* Party. It was not until 1944, that the Party represented the first effective political organization in Morocco.<sup>29</sup>

Throughout this period, Moroccans showed remarkable unification in the country by forming an alliance with the Sultan. The Party demanded independence, development of a constitutional monarchy, education reform, restoration of Arabic as the official language, a new unified judicial system, social legislation, an internal security force, a taxation policy and better policies to improve relations in the Arab world. Many leaders returned from exile and united with the reigning Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Yussef. They demanded freedom for Morocco and a

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<sup>26</sup> John P. Entelis, *Comparative Politics of North Africa: Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 1980), 33.

<sup>27</sup> al-Fasi, *Independence Movements*, 169-170.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, x.

<sup>29</sup> Waterbury, *Commander of the Faithful*, 47.

constitutional form of government led by Yussef.<sup>30</sup> The nationalists used the Sultan to induce the populations that would otherwise not respond to take action to the country's threatened sovereignty. To the citizens of Morocco, the only symbol of national unity was the Sultan.<sup>31</sup> The nationalists helped build the reputation of the Sultan as a symbol of the Independence struggle; this also gave him the authority to act autonomously.<sup>32</sup>

The French protectorate which governed Morocco for over four decades incited revolutionary groups that posed a threat to French rule and showed a form of Moroccan unity inside the country. The French population enjoyed a higher standard of living than Moroccans, and by 1953 their average per capita income was 20 times larger than the Moroccans.<sup>33</sup> This angered the Moroccan population because it demonstrated the colonial authorities' exploitation of their natural resources. Moroccan's individual freedoms were severely restricted. For example, their usual movements from one region to the next were restricted whereas foreigners could travel anywhere. Their houses could be searched without a warrant. Furthermore, Moroccans needed authorization from the colonial authorities for public meetings and needed permission from the French Resident General to publish a newspaper or periodical in Arabic or Hebraic. Persons of other nationalities only needed to declare their intentions.<sup>34</sup> Finally, Moroccans were not given the opportunities to pursue

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<sup>30</sup> al-Fasi, *Independence Movements*, 217-223.

<sup>31</sup> Husain, ed., *Islam and the Muslim World*, 194.

<sup>32</sup> Waterbury, *Commander of the Faithful*, 49.

<sup>33</sup> Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 376.

<sup>34</sup> Marvine Howe, *The Prince and I* (New York: The John Day Company, 1955), 30.

educational goals and only a small number of them were allowed to participate in governmental affairs.<sup>35</sup>

The colonial authorities sent the Sultan and his family into exile in 1953 for their support of the pronationalist activities. The exile outraged Moroccans since the Sultan represented the Moroccan Muslim community and was a key figure to their identity.<sup>36</sup> Sultan Yussuf became a symbol of Moroccan resistance to the protectorate during his exile. Late in 1953, Sultan Yussuf's replacement was an elderly uncle, Mohammed ben Arafa. These acts fueled the nationalist movement. By the mid 1950s, Sultan Arafa resigned his title. Sultan Yusuf was reinstated and the royal family returned from exile in Madagascar in November of 1955.<sup>37</sup>

### Independence

Moroccans' received their sovereignty from France on March 3, 1956. The International Zone of Tangier was returned to Morocco. It was not until several years later that Morocco recovered the territories controlled by Spain. The greatest legacy left by the French was the transformation of the economic system. Highways, railroads and deep sea ports were developed as well as the expansion of electricity. Although the improvements to infrastructure were initially made for Europeans inside the country, the Moroccans were able to take advantage of the protectorate's economic reform in the long-run.<sup>38</sup> After his enthronement, King Hassan used the

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<sup>35</sup> Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 376.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 391.

<sup>37</sup> Husain, ed., *Islam and the Muslim World*, 194.

<sup>38</sup> Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 376.

improved economic situation in Morocco to help build additional alliances in the West.

King Mohammed V signed a declaration in late 1956 stating that a constitutional monarchy would be established in Morocco, and he would move towards a democratic state.<sup>39</sup> The first step in transforming the newly independent country was for the Sovereign to replace the outdated title of sultan. Sultan Yusuf changed his name to King or Sidi Mohammed V, to give the citizens a new way of identifying the leader of modern Moroccan politics. The country was proclaimed a kingdom in 1957.<sup>40</sup> The King formed a government of his own and the French authorities were replaced slowly by Moroccans.<sup>41</sup> Like the traditional structure of the *makhzan*, King Mohammed V before his death, appointed his son, Prince Moulay Hassan II as his successor. The heritage of the *makhzan* was handed down to the new kingdom as a “defensive preoccupation with survival”.<sup>42</sup> The current ruling dynasty rules by the same traditions established by the Alawite in the seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup> The tradition of both dynasties included the collection of taxes, suppression of tribesman and maintaining the armed forces.<sup>44</sup>

The alliance of King Mohammed V and the *Istiqlal* Party later proved to be a downfall for the nationalists. Both King Mohammed and the nationalist parties

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<sup>39</sup> Kingdom of Morocco, “Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation,” *Historical Summary*, <http://www.maec.gov.ma/en/default.html>, (accessed June 18, 2007).

<sup>40</sup> White, “Kingdom of Morocco,” 460.

<sup>41</sup> Kingdom of Morocco, “Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation,” *Historical Summary*, <http://www.maec.gov.ma/en/default.html>, (accessed June 18, 2007).

<sup>42</sup> Waterbury, *Commander of the Faithful*, 33.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 15.



desired control the political system. As the monarchy and the political groups fought for control, internal division in the government became apparent in 1959. The Party associated with helping to achieve Independence, the *Istiqlal*, split to form another group, called the *Union Nationale des Forces Populaires* (National Union of Popular Forces or UNFP). The UNFP said the *Istiqlal* Party had not succeeded in standing up to the King nor did they bring about economic and social reform. The UNFP demanded the implementation of a constitutional monarchy. The government and the cabinet, mostly members of the UNFP were dismissed by King Mohammed in 1960. King Mohammed designated himself as Prime Minister and his son, Prince *Moulay* Hassan II, as the deputy Prime Minister.<sup>45</sup> The struggle for control of the political system continued after King Mohammed V's death in 1961.

#### King Hassan II's Rise to Power

King Mohammed prepared his son, *Moulay* Hassan, at a young age for the duties of a king. The Prince was given a modern French education along with an Arab education that included history, language, law, literature, theology and philosophy.<sup>46</sup> As a juvenile, he became interested in national politics and later became involved in nationalist activities.<sup>47</sup> He received his law degree from the University of Bordeaux in France. When *Moulay* Hassan was in his mid-twenties,

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<sup>45</sup> White, "Kingdom of Morocco," 460.

<sup>46</sup> Rom Landau, *Hassan II: King of Morocco* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), 37.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

King Mohammed consulted him on almost every important political issue. *Moulay* Hassan is credited with strengthening his father's nationalist beliefs.<sup>48</sup>

During the period of exile from 1953-1955, it was *Moulay* Hassan's insistence to King Mohammed that influenced the exiled leader not to make any concessions with the colonial authorities. King Mohammed demanded his return to the throne and the country's independence.<sup>49</sup> After attaining Morocco's independence, *Moulay* Hassan became publicly involved in national affairs. His father appointed him head of the soon-to-be national army. In July of 1957, *Moulay* Hassan was named as the Crown Prince, the official heir to the throne.<sup>50</sup> While thoroughly prepared for duties of a king at a young age, Crown Prince *Moulay* Hassan did not expect his father's death in March of 1961.

After King Mohammed's death, the power struggle continued between the newly crowned King Hassan and the Independence groups. King Hassan formed his own government in June of 1961. He surrounded himself with the same experienced political leaders who served under his father.<sup>51</sup> King Hassan was not considered a nationalist hero, nor did he have the same charisma of his late father. These two factors made it difficult for King Hassan to establish relations with people initially.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, King Hassan followed the same principles implemented by his late father, King Mohammed.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 58-59.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>52</sup> Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 416.

Following his father's promise of a constitution, King Hassan implemented a constitutional monarchy in 1962. It guaranteed political freedom however, the provisions consolidated his authority. He had the ability to dissolve the legislature and had unlimited emergency powers.<sup>53</sup> The constitution specifically stated the provisions that guaranteed his control of the government. Articles 24-29 state the following:

- Article 24. The King shall appoint the Prime Minister. Upon the Prime Minister's recommendation, the King shall appoint the other Cabinet members as he may terminate their services. The king shall terminate the services of the Government either on his own initiative or because of their resignation.
- Article 25. The King shall preside over Cabinet meetings.
- Article 26. The King shall promulgate a definitively adopted law within the thirty days following its receipt by the Government.
- Article 27. The King may dissolve the two Houses of Parliament or one thereof by Royal Decree, in accordance with the conditions prescribed in Articles 71 and 73.
- Article 28. The King shall have the right to deliver addresses to the Nation and to the Parliament. The messages shall be read out before both Houses and shall not be subject to any debate.<sup>54</sup>

Although a constitution was established, the King remained in control of the political parties in the country. This was a source of contention amongst political leaders.

Following King Hassan's ascension to the throne and his consolidation of power, division between the monarchy and the political groups became more apparent. Riots, demonstrations and strikes occurred in the country. The King was

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<sup>53</sup> White, "Kingdom of Morocco," 461.

<sup>54</sup> Kingdom of Morocco, "Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation," *Historical Summary*, <http://www.maec.gov.ma/en/default.html>, (accessed June 18, 2007).

unwilling to become a “constitutional figurehead” and the *Istiqlal* was reluctant to play a secondary role in the political system.<sup>55</sup> As a measure of protection, the King began building the armed forces in Morocco. Eventually, the King could rely on his own troops for maintaining order and protection instead of foreign forces that were in the country remaining from the French protectorate.<sup>56</sup>

King Hassan maintained absolute authority in Morocco during his reign from 1961 to 1999 as the Monarch. However, two factors existed when he ascended the throne that complicated his role from the beginning. The first was the reputation of the *Istiqlal* Party. The Party was respected by Moroccan citizens because it was associated with achieving Independence. King Hassan and the *Istiqlal* Party did not want to share power despite their popularity with citizens. The second factor was the need for King Hassan to meet demands of a socio-economic plan in the country.<sup>57</sup>

### Internal Problems

King Hassan resorted to violence by using the army to control the country. Article 30 of the constitution assigned him the duty of commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Armed forces loyal to the King committed violent acts to calm political dissidents. The growing dissatisfaction amongst his population led to multiple assassination attempts in the early 1970's. Several armed groups made

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<sup>55</sup> White, “Kingdom of Morocco,” 460-461.

<sup>56</sup> Landau, *Hassan II: King of Morocco*, 52.

<sup>57</sup> Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghreb*, 416.

bomb attacks throughout different cities.<sup>58</sup> Eventually leaders of the royal opposition group, the UNFP were arrested for "serious infringement of the law" and for being leaders of a "subversive movement."<sup>59</sup> After their trial, some were executed, and it was revealed that widespread torture existed throughout their interrogation by police. Afterward the King reorganized his security forces and split the opposition parties.<sup>60</sup>

King Hassan later stated that political parties were meant to gain support for the King, not formulate public policy.<sup>61</sup> His firm attitude in the role of political parties merely promoting the monarchy was very evident and caused unrest in the government. King Hassan specifically stated that, "I am aware that the leaders of political parties must preach their own doctrines; but their advice and expert knowledge is not always profitable to the nation as a whole."<sup>62</sup> The trend that is apparent here is that the King was not going to tolerate dissention among the opposition groups and he would use force to thwart these groups. In addition to political unrest in the government, the King used the Royal Forces to protect the throne from opposition groups and from members of his own military. Forces that were once loyal to King Hassan wanted to control the government and planned a *coup d'état*. There were two unsuccessful coups in the early 1970's.

Because of two failed assassination attempts, King Hassan needed to adjust his political strategy. During the 1960's, King Hassan focused his energy in de-

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<sup>58</sup> Richard I. Lawless, "History," in *Europa Regional Surveys of the World: The Middle East and North Africa 2007*, ed. Lucy Dean, 53rd ed., (London: Routledge, 2007), 799.

<sup>59</sup> Bosworth, ed., *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1194.

<sup>60</sup> Lawless, "History," 799.

<sup>61</sup> White, "Kingdom of Morocco," 461.

<sup>62</sup> Hassan II, *Challenge*, 78.

centralizing the power of the political parties. His only method to maintaining power was the building of the armed forces. This later proved to be an oversight on his part. The first attempted *coup* in 1971 occurred at a celebration event. Over 100 people were killed and 132 were injured. Forces loyal to King Hassan eventually stopped the rebellion.<sup>63</sup> A second attempt was made in 1972 when his plane was shot at by military aircraft fighters.<sup>64</sup> The King was supposed to be the victim of a mysterious air assassination; nonetheless, he survived the second attempt on his life. It was later revealed that the Minister of Defense, General Oufkir, and other senior military leaders were involved in both incidents. General Oufkir allegedly committed suicide shortly after the second assassination attempt and the other participating army officers were either executed or sentenced to long prison terms.<sup>65</sup> Though these acts were violent, and many people died, King Hassan suggested that his survival brought the people of Morocco closer to both him and the royal institutions.<sup>66</sup> These acts clearly showed his need to protect the monarchy from both external and internal forces.

### Conflicts in the Western Sahara

The struggle over the Western Sahara beginning in 1975 was an additional reason for the King's concern for the stability of his throne. King Hassan used the conflict in the Western Sahara as a way to realign with the political parties. Both parties agreed this was of national interest. Thereafter, the legitimacy of the throne

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<sup>63</sup> Bosworth, ed., *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1194.

<sup>64</sup> Hassan II, *Challenge*, 153.

<sup>65</sup> Marvine Howe, *Morocco: The Islamist Awakening and Other Challenges* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 111-112.

<sup>66</sup> Hassan II, *Challenge*, 154.

was based on having a successful acquisition of the Western Sahara.<sup>67</sup> If the King did not abide by this, it would be a threat to his survival as a political leader.<sup>68</sup> What the King did not anticipate was the alignment of Algeria with forces in the Western Sahara. The alliance threatened not only the Moroccan throne, but the stability of the country and the *Maghrebi* region.<sup>69</sup>

To better understand the conflict in the Western Sahara, it is imperative to review relations with neighboring Algeria and the actions that led up to the conflict between Morocco and Algeria. The Western Sahara is located to the south of Morocco. Mauritania and Algeria also border the area. The area was once a Spanish protectorate, known as the Spanish Sahara. During Algeria's struggle for Independence from France, Morocco provided assistance to the *Front de Libération Nationale* (National Liberation Front or FLN). Morocco assisted in financing, providing military supplies and volunteers to the cause. However, after Algeria attained Independence, relations with Morocco deteriorated because of Morocco's claim to territory in Algeria. The Moroccan government argued that the French protectorate made an error when drawing the Algerian-Moroccan border. In mid 1962, Moroccan forces occupied an area that had never been defined by the border. By October of 1963, war had broken out between Morocco and Algeria. A cease fire

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<sup>67</sup> Nizar Messari, "National Security, the Political Space, and Citizenship: The Case of Morocco and the Western Sahara." *The Journal of North African Studies* 4, no. 6 (Winter 2001): 50.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 56-57.

<sup>69</sup> Yahia H. Zoubir, "Algerian-Moroccan Relations and their Impact on Maghribi Integration." *The Journal of North African Studies* 3, no. 5 (Autumn 2000): 43.

was eventually agreed upon. This led to the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).<sup>70</sup>

The creation of the OAU in November of 1963 did not stop the fighting. By 1967, there was a massive buildup of weapons in Algeria. King Hassan requested a \$14 million credit from the United States for weapons. A memorandum to U.S.

President Johnson from a staff member reveals the following information,

The Secretary recommends you approve the \$14 million credit sale of arms King Hassan has asked for. Bill Gaud would prefer no sale on the grounds that these countries can't afford drain from economic development and that we should be trying to build regional cooperation in North Africa--not get into an arms race. We all sympathize with his view but, with \$180 million in Soviet arms next door in Algeria, it's hard to refuse Hassan permission to buy this small amount over 2-3 years.<sup>71</sup>

King Hassan was responding to Algeria's aggression. The conflict created long-term distrust between Algeria and Morocco. It also widened ideological differences.

Algeria moved both politically and militarily closer to the Soviets and Morocco moved closer to the West.<sup>72</sup>

Periods of aggression occurred between Morocco and Algeria shortly after Algeria gained independence from France in 1962 and continued into the 1970s and early 1980s. Yahia Zoubir argued that one of the main reasons for poor relations between Morocco and Algeria was that "post-colonial, inter-state relations are based

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<sup>70</sup> Harold D. Nelson, *Morocco, a Country Study*, 5th ed., (Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1985), 308.

<sup>71</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1964-1968*, Rostow to Johnson, memo 131, vol. 24, Morocco, February 7, 1967. [http://www.state.gov/www/about\\_state/history/vol\\_xxiv/n.html](http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/vol_xxiv/n.html), (accessed November 1, 2007).

<sup>72</sup> Zoubir 'Algerian-Moroccan Relations', 47.



on power politics.”<sup>73</sup> Newly independent countries want to preserve their sovereignty, territory integrity and ensure their survival. These conflicts originated from the days of their colonial experience and belief in the balance of power. They handle threats by aligning with other countries in order to preserve the balance. This is one of the reasons why Algeria aligned with forces in the Western Sahara. Absorption of the Western Sahara to the Moroccan kingdom would affect the regional balance of power.<sup>74</sup>

Algeria’s support for the group known as the Popular Front for the Liberation of *Saqiat al Hamra* and *Rio de Oro* (Polisario Front) played a significant role in the reoccurrence of conflict between Algeria and Morocco. The Polisario Front is an independence seeking body in the Western Sahara. Algeria disputed Morocco’s claim and supported the autonomy of the territory. Morocco claimed historical sovereignty over the region. The area was the starting point and headquarters for the Almoravid Dynasty (1062-1147, Morocco’s imperial period).<sup>75</sup> The President of Algeria, Houari Boumedienne allowed the Polisario Front to establish a base of operation near the Moroccan-Algeria border.

Spain relinquished control of the Spanish Sahara in November of 1975 by way of the Madrid Accords. The Accords gave the land to Morocco and Mauritania. Shortly after the Madrid Accords, Hassan led the Green March into the Western Sahara to assert Morocco’s claim to the territory. The March was a peaceful

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>75</sup> Husain, ed., *Islam and the Muslim World*, 1195.

demonstration of 350,000 unarmed volunteers. The Green March did not stop the Polisario Front from declaring war in Western Sahara. The day after Spain withdrew their remaining troops in February of 1976, the Polisario Front claimed the area as the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR).<sup>76</sup>

Algeria's campaign against Morocco's claim to the Western Sahara also affected bilateral relations and security in the *Maghreb*. Morocco was more conservative than Algeria. Algeria was moving towards a more socialist government. Algeria stepped up relations with the Soviets and this was seen as a threat to the monarchy.<sup>77</sup> It also affected King Hassan's foreign policy initiatives in the Arab states because of other countries in the *Maghreb* aligning against him. What originally began as a way to regain legitimacy to the throne later became a political trap in Hassan's later years of rule.<sup>78</sup> If a Polisario victory occurred and Moroccan troops vacated the area, this had the potential to weaken King Hassan's throne.<sup>79</sup>

In an effort to stop the war, mediation groups began to develop. By the mid-1980s, over sixty countries recognized the legitimacy of SADR. Despite this, the King had over 80,000 men stationed in the Sahara.<sup>80</sup> King Hassan built a *berm*, consisting of seven sand walls. By 1987, the sand walls extended more than 2,000 kilometers.<sup>81</sup> The walls acted as a protective system to fight off Polisario guerrillas. Manned posts were situated throughout the entire length of the *berm*. The wall was

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<sup>76</sup> White, "Kingdom of Morocco," 479.

<sup>77</sup> Zoubir 'Algerian-Moroccan Relations', 47.

<sup>78</sup> Messari, 'National Security', 55.

<sup>79</sup> Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, "Conflict and Conflict Management in the Western Sahara: Is the Endgame Near?," *The Middle East Journal* 45, no. 4 (1991): 600-602.

<sup>80</sup> White, "Kingdom of Morocco," 479.

<sup>81</sup> Maddy-Weitzman, 'Conflict', 595

also secured by mine fields and was equipped with listening devices. The wall ensured military superiority to Moroccan forces.<sup>82</sup>

In an effort to end the conflict in the Western Sahara, Saudi Arabia acted as a mediator between the Polisario and the Moroccan government in spring of 1987. Morocco and Algeria later renewed full-diplomatic relations. The United Nations (UN) eventually took part in the mediation efforts. A settlement plan was approved by the Security Council in 1990.<sup>83</sup> The United Nations Mission for the Referendum in the Western Sahara (MINURSO) was established in 1991. It called for a ceasefire and the creation of a referendum in order to decide the territory's future standing.<sup>84</sup> King Hassan later accepted the organization of a self-determination referendum in the Western Sahara. He committed to a unilateral cease fire under the UN.<sup>85</sup> The Plan was later delayed and to date, the referendum remains unsettled.

#### Division in the Arab World and President Nasser

Another concern for the stability of the Moroccan throne was President Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt and the division he caused amongst the Arab states. Nasser ruled Egypt from 1954 to 1970. He formed a union between Syria and Egypt in 1958. The union was known as the United Arab Republic (UAR) and replaced the existing

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<sup>82</sup> Erik Jensen, *Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 34.

<sup>83</sup> Maddy-Weitzman, 'Conflict', 600-602.

<sup>84</sup> United Nations, "MINURSO: United Nations Mission for the Referendum in the Western Sahara," <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/minurso/index.html>, (accessed July 9, 2007).

<sup>85</sup> King Hassan II and Filali Abdellatif, *Tenth Anniversary of the Green March: November 6th, 1985*. (Morocco: Direction of Information, 1985), 17-20.

political parties in Egypt and Syria. The creation of the United Arab Republic was a triumph for Nasser's brand of nationalism – radical and social change.

The two countries were both closely aligned with the Soviet Union and other communist states.<sup>86</sup>

President Nasser also aligned with King Hassan's opposition leaders in the early 1960s. Marvine Howe, a journalist and author, lived in Morocco during the French protectorate and covered the political situation for many decades. She recognized Nasser's threat to the Moroccan monarchy. She stated specifically that King Hassan, "...viewed Arab Socialism, as personified by Egyptian revolutionary Gamal Abdel Nasser and its Moroccan exponent, Ben Barka, as the main threat to his regime."<sup>87</sup> President Nasser posed an additional threat to the Moroccan monarchy due to his affiliation with Mehdi Ben Barka, a prominent leader of the UNFP. King Hassan allegedly uncovered numerous plots by Ben Barka and his Party to overthrow the monarchy. King Hassan suspected Ben Barka of aligning with President Nasser and Algeria during the 1963 border dispute between Algeria and Morocco.<sup>88</sup> Ben Barka made treasonous remarks about the conflict in the Western Sahara and was condemned in absentia.<sup>89</sup> Not only did King Hassan consider Ben Barka a threat to his regime, but coupled with his alliance to Nasser, the two combined forces threatened King Hassan. The leaders who carried out the first coup attempt against

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<sup>86</sup> S.E Ayling, *Portraits of Power: an Introduction to Twentieth-Century History through the Lives of Seventeen Great Political Leaders*, 2nd ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1963), 267-268.

<sup>87</sup> Howe, *Morocco: Islamist Awakening*, 224.

<sup>88</sup> Vatikiotis, *Nasser and his Generation*, 240.

<sup>89</sup> Waterbury, *Commander of the Faithful*, 294.

King Hassan were allegedly influenced by Nasser.<sup>90</sup> Additionally, Nasser's activities in Morocco and other Arab states caused division in the Arab world.

President Nasser called for radical and social reform in the Arab, Islamic and African circles of the world. Nasser envisioned Egypt as the center of three circles - Arab world, Muslim world and Africa.<sup>91</sup> He had the ability to influence the Arab masses by his popular appeal. Nasser broadcasted campaigns throughout the Arab world and used the radio as an instrument of state influence and power. Conservative Arab regimes construed Nasser's charismatic leadership style as a direct challenge to their survival and legitimacy. He provided advice and material assistance to dissident groups in countries with conservative regimes. In the late 1950's Nasser and the Soviets unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow the Jordanian monarchy. They did succeed in overthrowing the pro-western Iraqi monarchy and for a short time a communist government was implemented in Iraq.<sup>92</sup> Nasser's alignment with the Soviet Union provided a large build up of weapons in the Middle East and Africa. King Hassan stated his concern to U.S. Ambassador Harriman. The conversation was recorded in a memorandum on November 9, 1966,

The King shares the Shah's and the Ethiopian Emperor's concern over Nasser's aggressive intentions. ... They look upon Nasser as a Soviet tool and watch with concern the military build-up with Russian weapons in UAR, Iraq, Algeria, Somalia, and now Syria.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Howe, *Morocco: Islamist Awakening*, 110.

<sup>91</sup> Gamal Abdel Nasser, *Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution*, (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955), 98.

<sup>92</sup> Ian J. Klausner and Carla L. Bickerton, *A History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 5th ed. (Pearson: Prentice Hall, 2007), 138-139.

<sup>93</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1964-1968*, Harriman to Rusk, memo 127, vol. 24, Morocco, November 9, 1967. [http://www.state.gov/www/about\\_state/history/vol\\_xxiv/m.html](http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/vol_xxiv/m.html), (accessed November 1, 2007).

Nasser played an influential role in the civil wars and revolutions in Lebanon, Iraq, and Yemen. He was responsible for the civil unrest in Jordan and Saudi Arabia.<sup>94</sup>

President Nasser's brand of nationalism and socialism was successful in causing division amongst the Arab states in the Middle East and Africa. By 1970, King Hassan was especially concerned with the new radical military regime implemented in Libya and the danger it caused to the stability of the *Maghrebi* states. Nasser had access to Libyan financial resources. His growing influence in Libya was not a direct threat to King Hassan's throne; but, it contributed to his apprehension of Morocco experiencing retaliation from Nasser.

King Hassan expressed concern to the United States in January of 1970. A memorandum from Henry Kissinger to President Nixon stated the following,

The King would like the U.S. to use whatever appropriate influence is available to prevent Nasser's and Soviet plans in the Maghreb countries from succeeding. He feels that unless we take a positive interest in this matter, there is a real danger that the entire littoral of the southern Mediterranean, from the UAR to Morocco, is likely to fall to Communist domination.<sup>95</sup>

President Nasser's alliance with the Soviet Union alarmed many of the conservative regimes in the Middle East. This was especially disconcerting to Morocco's safety because of the country's close location to Egypt. Preventing Soviet influence was not only imperative to King Hassan, but became an important factor in the United States policy after the end of World War II.

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<sup>94</sup> Don Peretz, *The Arab-Israeli Dispute, Library in a Book*; (New York: Facts On File, 1996), 61.

<sup>95</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1969-1976*, Kissinger to Nixon, memo 100, vol. E-5, part 2, Morocco, January 7, 1970, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e5part2/89731.htm>, (accessed November 2, 2007).

### The United States and Soviet Union's Involvement in the Middle East

The United States and Soviet Unions involvement in the Middle East contributed to the ongoing conflict between the Arab states and Israel. Prior to the outbreak of World War II, the United States was only involved in the Middle East in educational endeavors, church missions, and oil interests. Once Britain's influence in the area was diminished, Soviet influence increased and the American government was concerned with the containment of the Soviets. The first policy implemented by the United States to review the threat of communism was the Truman Doctrine in 1947. Greece, Turkey and later Iran were offered military and economic assistance to prevent the spread of communism in the area. The policy of containment was later extended to countries in the Middle East.<sup>96</sup>

In an effort to guarantee the flow of oil and maintain stability, the American leaders wanted to defuse the Arab-Israeli conflict. In addition, they attempted to convince the Arab states and Israel to unite with the West against Soviet influence. The Tripartite Agreement was signed in 1950 by the United States, Britain and France. The purpose of the agreement was to declare the powers' opposition to the use of threat or force and also to maintain an arms balance. The United States opposed the development of an arms race in the area; however they recognized the need for self-defense and internal security. Although American policy was to avoid the arms race, a pact in 1955, called the Baghdad Pact, essentially violated the terms

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<sup>96</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 118-120.

of the Tripartite Agreement. The Baghdad Pact was a defense treaty between Britain (backed by the United States) and the countries of Iran, Iraq, Greece, Pakistan and Turkey. The Pact was designed to prevent the spread of communism but bypassed the Arab League. The Pact angered President Nasser and in turn, he aligned with the Soviets by purchasing large quantities of weapons in September of 1955.<sup>97</sup> When the pro-western monarchy in Iraq was overthrown in 1958, Iraq withdrew from the Pact. The Baghdad Pact became known as the Central Treaty Organization (Cento) and was headquartered in Ankara, Turkey.<sup>98</sup> To maintain an arms balance between the radical and conservative regimes in the Middle East, the United States supplied weapons to Saudi Arabia and Jordan, two countries considered more conservative.

While Morocco is now considered a conservative regime, the country implemented a non-alignment policy in the late 1950's and early 1960s. The Moroccan government preferred not to take an East or West position. American government files indicate that,

...it was a well-known Moroccan policy to establish no exclusive relations with the East or West, particularly with the matter of arms, and that Morocco reserved the right to acquire arms it needed from any available source.<sup>99</sup>

Morocco acquired small arms from the Soviet Union. The United States denied previous attempts from Morocco to gain arms. The American government recognized the importance of maintaining their military bases in Morocco built during the French

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 118-120.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>99</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1961-1963*, Komer to Bundy, memo 129, vol. 21, Morocco, January 29, 1962. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/kennedyjf/50753.htm>, (accessed November 2, 2007).



protectorate. They offered arms and economic aid as bargaining tools to King Hassan in order to steer the King away from Soviet influence. In 1963, King Hassan notified the United States he was ready for improved economic and military relations with the West.<sup>100</sup>

The Arab-Israeli conflict was not a byproduct of the Cold War. The conflict existed prior to the rising tensions between the East and the West. The United States and Soviet Union's involvement only prolonged the conflict. The superpowers' interests made peace between the Arab states and Israel harder to attain. The following section on the Arab-Israeli wars will briefly discuss the conflicts.

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<sup>100</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1961-1963*, Dept. of State to Embassy, telegram 154, vol. 21, Morocco, August 7, 1963. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/kennedyjf/50753.htm>, (accessed November 6, 2007).

## SECTION TWO

## THE ARAB-ISRAELI WARS

King Hassan II of Morocco played a role as an intermediary between the Arabs and Israelis in the latter part of the Arab-Israeli Wars. The next section provides a short summary of the wars. It establishes the context surrounding the creation of the state of Israel and the resulting conflicts. King Hassan played an important role as an intermediary for the achievement of peace in the Middle East. His actions as a mediator in the Arab-Israeli dispute did not actually begin until the late 1970s, but he continued to mediate until his death in 1999. Morocco became an important actor in resolving the decade's long conflict. The conflict between Arabs and Israelis has often been the center of international attention since the end of World War I. Extensive information about the Arab-Israeli conflicts has been published all over the world so the information here will be brief yet concise.

Palestine was important to three religious groups, Jews, Christians and Muslims. Jewish claims to the land are from ancient Biblical times. Many events in the Christian Old Testament occurred in Palestine and the area became the center of Jewish practices, traditions and customs. Palestine is referred to the Promised Land by Jews. To Christians, Jesus Christ was born and raised in Palestine. His death also occurred on the land. Most of the events recorded in the New Testament occurred in Palestine. To Muslims, the land is important because Palestine was conquered 1,300 years ago by Arab and Islamic tribes after the death of Prophet Mohammed. The Prophet first designated Jerusalem as the direction to which Muslims pray (*qibla*). The *qibla* now is in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. Muslims believe that Prophet Mohammed

ascended to heaven from King Solomon's temple. That site is now the area known as the Dome of the Rock is located in Jerusalem. When the Ottomans conquered the area in 1517, the area was mostly populated with Arabic speaking Muslims.<sup>101</sup>

Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1517 to 1917. During this time, the country did not appear on the map as a single unit. The immediate and surrounding areas were divided into *vilayets* (provinces) and *sanjaks* (districts).<sup>102</sup> Prior to the Ottomans, there were various dynasties in Palestine including the Egyptians, Canaanites, Persians and Romans and a range of other dynasties. However, it was during the Ottoman Empire in the late 1800's, that Jews began migrating to Palestine. Most of the world's Jewish population lived in Europe and wanted to escape poor economic and social conditions.<sup>103</sup> The Jews were "a nation without a land" and movements to secure a homeland were pursued.<sup>104</sup> Hoveve Zion was the founder of one of the first movements. Some years later, several groups formed into one world Zionist organization, founded by Theodore Herzl.<sup>105</sup>

The central focus of the struggle was on Zionism, or Jewish nationalism versus Arab nationalism for control over Palestine. An official World Zionist Movement was developed in 1897 and the movement officially declared "the aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish People a home in Palestine secured by Public

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<sup>101</sup> Peretz, *Arab-Israel Dispute*, 2.

<sup>102</sup> Jewish Virtual Library, Palestine Under Turkish Rule," <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/ottoman.html>, (accessed December 8, 2007).

<sup>103</sup> Peretz, 1.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 7.

Law.”<sup>106</sup> Waves of Jewish migration (*aliyah*) to Palestine began in the late 1800’s. When the first Jewish settlement settled in 1880, conflict ensued between the Arabs and Israelis over land and crop issues. The Palestinian Arabs requested that the Ottomans limit migration, but the immigration movement was too popular to stop.

After World War I and the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Palestine became a British mandate. The mandate lasted over 30 years and it was during those years that the mandate made concessions to both Arabs and Jews.<sup>107</sup> In 1920’s and 1930’s Britain attempted to establish self-governing institutions in Palestine, but their efforts failed due to the differing opinions of Arabs and Jews. Arabs rejected the Jews’ historical claim to Palestine.<sup>108</sup> The conflict entered a new phase when World War II broke out in 1939. An agreement by Britain in September of 1939, known as the White Paper, limited Jewish migration to Palestine. There was a series of conferences, correspondence, and declarations between the three parties that existed throughout the early 1930s and through the late 1940s. Illegal and underground migration of Jews to Palestine occurred as a result of the Holocaust. By the end of World War II, six million or 90 percent of the Jewish population in Europe had been methodically exterminated.<sup>109</sup>

After the Second World War, the British government was occupied with economic problems inside their homeland. The economic situation, coupled with the problems of placing dislocated Jews forced Britain to reconsider the mandate. In

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 29.

early 1947, Britain terminated the mandate in Palestine and turned the issue over to the United Nations.<sup>110</sup> The UN General Assembly voted 33:13 to support the creation of Israel (10 countries abstained and one country was absent). The new Jewish state, hereafter known as Israel, was partitioned in November of 1947. The United States and the Soviet Union were among supporters of the partition plan.<sup>111</sup>

The conflict between the Arabs and Israelis resulted in a range of wars and uprisings from the late 1940s to the 1990s. The focus of the paper will be on the following conflicts:

- 1) The War of Independence - 1948
- 2) The Suez War or Sinai Campaign - 1956
- 3) The Six-Day War - 1967
- 4) Wars of Attrition - 1969-1970
- 5) The Yom Kippur War - 1973
- 6) Operation Peace for Galilee - 1982
- 7) Intifada - 1987
- 8) The Gulf War - 1990

Morocco played a role in moderating between the Arab states and Israel. Two of the wars occurred before King Hassan assumed leadership in Morocco. King Hassan played an active role in moderating between the radical Arab states and the conservative Arab regimes beginning in the 1960s. However, it was not until after the 1973 war that King Hassan mediated between Israel and the Arab states.

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 36-37

### War of Independence – May 15, 1948

Israel's War of Independence began after the termination of the British mandate. The Arab states rejected the UN partition plan and the armies of Egypt, Syria, Transjordan (now Jordan), Iraq and Lebanon invaded the new Jewish state. The Arab forces tried to regain the territory by force. Israeli forces were outnumbered and they were surrounded by Arabs, however, the Arab armies did not show unification and were disorganized. The Israelis captured part of Jerusalem, a city that they were not originally allocated in the Mandate. The war enlarged and solidified the Israeli state. The fighting stopped when Israel and Egypt signed a cease fire agreement at the beginning of 1949.<sup>112</sup> The new state of Israel claimed victory.

The legacy of the war for the Arabs was the extinction of the Palestinians from Israel and their displacement throughout other Arab countries. Three-quarters of a million Palestinian Arabs became refugees and Israel never let them return to their country. Arab states such as Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Iraq received Palestinians refugees into their countries. However, the majority of refugees went to the eastern portion of Palestine or to camps in the Gaza region. This eastern area in Palestine was controlled by the Arab Legion and Transjordan.<sup>113</sup> Part of the Arab armies' failure was due to logistical and organizational difficulties.<sup>114</sup> The defeat of the war highlighted the current state of disorganization in the Arab armies. At the time of the war, Egypt was considered the most powerful Arab country. However,

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<sup>112</sup> Bickerton, *History of Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 96.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 98.

the Egyptian Monarch, King Faruq, had no prior experience in commanding a war nor had his forces ever participated in a war.

#### Inter-war period

The War of Independence accelerated the fall of the monarchy in Egypt. King Faruq was overthrown in 1952. General Neguib and the Free Officers, members of Egypt's army (including Nasser, a Colonel at the time), participated in a bloodless coup and assumed power of Egypt in July of 1952. Neguib was a figurehead for Nasser and after March 1954, Nasser was the effective leader of Egypt.<sup>115</sup> The Baghdad Pact was signed by Iran, Iraq, Greece, Pakistan and Turkey. Iraq was Egypt's rival enemy. Nasser saw the Pact as a way for Iraq to steal leadership of the Arab world away from Nasser.<sup>116</sup> He secured large amounts of arms from the Soviet Union beginning in 1955.<sup>117</sup> To Nasser, Israel was a larger threat than the Soviet Union. He assumed the role as President of Egypt in 1956, shortly before he nationalized the Suez Canal.

#### The Suez War or Sinai Campaign - October 29, 1956

The main catalyst for the second Arab-Israeli War was the nationalization of the Suez Canal by President Nasser of Egypt. Britain and France were large shareholders in the Suez Canal Company. The canal was a major strategic asset for Britain due to the large amount of ships that passed through the canal. France and

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<sup>115</sup> Ayling, *Portraits of Power*, 259-260.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 264.

<sup>117</sup> Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, editors *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* (New York Penguin Books 1984), 222.



Israel became allies as a result of Egypt's support for the Algerian rebels fighting for their country's independence from France. France became Israel's main supplier of weapons. When Egypt refused Israeli ships' access to the Suez Canal, it was seen as an act of war. Israel launched the Sinai campaign with joint effort from Britain and France. The collusion was unbeknownst to the United States. Israel seized the Sinai Peninsula within 100 hours.<sup>118</sup> After British and French forces invaded Egypt, Morocco severed relations with France.<sup>119</sup> The United Nations Security Council called for a cease-fire, but Britain and France vetoed the measure twice. With pressure from the United States, Israel withdrew its forces from the Sinai. The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was created and some territory was put under its control.

The outcome of the war was that Israel proved they were strong militarily by defeating Egypt, the country considered the Arab's strongest nation.<sup>120</sup> However, the war was considered a diplomatic defeat for Britain and France. Their agreement with Israel undermined relations with the Third World and the United States.<sup>121</sup> For President Nasser, the war was a turning point for his leadership. His focus shifted from domestic policy in Egypt to Arab nationalism and Egypt was the model and leader of radical forces throughout the Arab world. Nasser became the symbol of

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 56-58.

<sup>119</sup> Pennell, *Morocco since 1830*, 309.

<sup>120</sup> Chaim Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars: War and Peace in the Middle East from the War of Independence through Lebanon*, 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 1982), 139-140.

<sup>121</sup> Geoffrey Wigoder, *New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, 2 vols. (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994), 1202.

pan-Arabism.<sup>122</sup> Pan-Arabism opposed colonialism and foreign interference in the Arab world.

#### Inter-war period

During this period, Egypt and Syria aligned to form the United Arab Republic. The United States policy was guided by the Eisenhower Doctrine in an effort to prevent the spread of international communism. The Doctrine stated that the President could approve economic and military aid to any country in the Middle East that was concerned with the threat of Soviet influence. However to Arabs, the threat of Zionism was a far more serious concern than communism. The Soviets re-supplied the radical regimes of Egypt Syria and Iraq with weapons. For the first time, in 1962, the United States sold missiles and tanks to Israel.<sup>123</sup>

In September 1964, an Arab Summit Conference in Cairo called for the diversion of the Jordan headwaters. Israel received two-thirds of its water from the Jordan River. The Conference also voted on the creation of a Palestinian movement organization. They called it the Palestine Liberation Movement (PLO).<sup>124</sup> The PLO was an instrument of Arab regimes and was not active prior to the Six Day War. In 1966, *al-Fatah*, a group formed by Palestinian students in Cairo, including Yasser Arafat, aligned with the PLO. The two groups launched attacks from the Syrian and Jordanian borders on Israel. The attacks by *al-Fatah* and the PLO contributed to the outbreak of the next Arab-Israeli war.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 136.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 137-139.

<sup>124</sup> Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, 146-147.

<sup>125</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 141.

### Six-Day War - June 5, 1967

The third Arab-Israeli War began when Israel launched a preemptive attack on Egypt. The war started on a false rumor from Russia. The Soviets relayed a message to Nasser that Israeli troops were grouping at the Israeli-Syrian border. Israeli troops were not aligned at the border as Russia stated. Syria was the first country to afford the Soviet Union their first major foothold in the Middle East because the Soviets wanted to strengthen the regime in Syria.<sup>126</sup> Nasser closed the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping and to Israel, this was considered an act of war. Part of the agreement in the previous war was the use of the Strait for Israeli shipping.

As previously discussed, differences between the conservative governments and radical regimes existed amongst the Arab states. President Nasser was unsure whether or not Israel would attack.<sup>127</sup> Despite the conservative regimes' dislike for the radical President Nasser, the moderate Arab states united with Egypt in case of war. They all agreed that Israel needed to be destroyed. Forces from Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and Saudi Arabia were stationed on the Sinai Peninsula during the war. This was the first time in their postcolonial histories that the Arab nation was united.<sup>128</sup>

Israel launched a preemptive attack. Israel eliminated the Egyptian, Syrian, Jordanian and Iraqi air forces in a matter of hours. Israel tripled in land size by gaining the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria, the West Bank

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<sup>126</sup> Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, 148-149.

<sup>127</sup> Michael B. Oren, *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York Oxford University Press, 2002), 158.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 163-164.

from Jordan, the Gaza Strip and reuniting Jerusalem. When King Hussein of Jordan lost the West Bank to Israel, he lost control of almost half the kingdom. More than 400 Arab planes were destroyed and over 500 tanks were either captured or destroyed. The three Arab armies lost seventy percent of their heavy equipment.<sup>129</sup> The loss of land and military equipment caused the Arabs to suffer extreme humiliation. The defeat caused President Nasser of Egypt to resign from the Presidency, however, due to his popularity among the Arab masses, they did not accept it.<sup>130</sup> Even with Nasser's attainment of modern equipment from the Soviets, he underestimated Israel. Israel was victorious due to their surprise attack and air superiority.<sup>131</sup>

#### Inter-war period

Outside interests impeded peacemaking efforts between the Arab states and Israel. On June 19, 1967, the Israeli government voted to return the Golan Heights to Syria, the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt and the West Bank to Jordan in return for peace and demilitarization. All negotiations for peace were prohibited by the Soviet Union. After the war, the Russians focused on rebuilding Egypt's and Syria's armies.

Arab countries developed a new policy towards Israel after the war. In September of 1967, leaders of eight Arab countries met. The Arab leaders, including King Hassan of Morocco, formed what is known as the Khartoum Resolution. It became known as "the three nos".

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<sup>129</sup>Wigoder, *New Encyclopedia*, 1206.

<sup>130</sup>Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 149-156.

<sup>131</sup> Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, 190.

*No peace with Israel*  
*No recognition of Israel*  
*No negotiations with Israel*<sup>132</sup>

In an attempt to reach a peace agreement, the UN adopted Resolution 242 in November of 1967. It called for the “just and lasting peace in the Middle East” that included the:

- i) withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- ii) termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force<sup>133</sup>

Disputes over the language of the Resolution caused delays in negotiations. Both sides disagreed as to which should come first, withdrawal from territories or peace. Israel adopted a policy that it would not withdraw from the occupied territories until negotiations with the Arab states led to a peace agreement that recognized Israel’s right to exist and accepted its borders and status. The Arab states wanted Israel to withdraw from the territories first before negotiations could begin.<sup>134</sup>

#### War of Attrition 1969-1970

The War of Attrition was, in a sense, a continuation of the 1967 war. It consisted of a series of battles along the Suez Canal between Israeli and Egyptian

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 191.

<sup>133</sup> United Nations, “Security Council Resolutions 1967,” *Resolution 242*, <http://www.un.org/documents/sc/res/1967/scres67.htm>, (accessed July 9, 2007).

<sup>134</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 149.

forces. The War was fought along the borders of Egypt, Syria and Jordan.<sup>135</sup> Nasser wanted to force a political solution and recover the territory lost in the 1967 war. He sought assistance from the Soviet Union when the battles escalated into air attacks in the beginning of 1970. By mid February that year, Soviet personnel arrived in Egypt. Soviet pilots were seen flying in the air over the Canal to achieve a presence in the Mediterranean.<sup>136</sup> By June 1970, they had succeeded and had Soviet naval fleets and infrastructure stationed in the Mediterranean.

In an effort to prevent further Soviet encroachment in the area, the United States took the initiative to call for a cease fire. Egypt and Israel accepted the cease fire agreement effective August 1970. However, it was later threatened after President Nasser moved Soviet missiles closer to the Suez Canal. President Nasser died in September of 1970, and his successor was Anwar el Sadat.<sup>137</sup>

#### Inter-war period

Anwar el Sadat's mission as President was to rid Egypt of the humiliation the country suffered as a result of the 1967 war and gain respect internally and externally. After his diplomatic attempts failed, he began to plan for war in 1971.<sup>138</sup> He trained the Egyptian military forces for another war. He expelled the Soviet military personnel from the country in 1972; however, he maintained his military connection to the Russians. He created a false sense of security in the country of Israel. Sadat followed the cease fire rules along the Suez Canal, which lowered the Israeli guard.

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<sup>135</sup> Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, 195.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 214-215.

<sup>137</sup> Peretz, *Arab-Israel Dispute*, 68-69.

<sup>138</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 166.

By 1973, the Egyptian military and intelligence services were completely overhauled and a plan for the next war was in place.<sup>139</sup>

Inter-Arab conflicts were also present during this time. Jordan became the principal base for the PLO after the Six Day War. The PLO attempted to establish a state within a state. After continuous guerilla activity by the PLO, backed by Syria, the two groups attempted the takeover of the Hashemite Monarchy in Jordan. King Hussein expelled the PLO in September of 1970.<sup>140</sup> The PLO established a new base in Lebanon.

#### Yom Kippur War/War of October - October 6, 1973

The objective of this war was for Egypt to regain the territory lost in the Six Day war. For several years, it was peaceful along the Suez Canal. The war began when Egypt and Syria attacked Israel. President Sadat had successfully implemented a plan of deception against Israel. In a speech given on October 16, 1973, Sadat affirmed his objectives of the war. The two objectives were, “to restore our territory which was occupied in 1967; and to find ways and means to restore and obtain respect for the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.”<sup>141</sup> The attack surprised Israelis’ because it occurred on the Jewish holiday, the Day of Atonement. It was also the holy month of Ramadan for Muslims. The two superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union had previously entered into a détente agreement, or a policy

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>140</sup> Wigoder, *New Encyclopedia*, 1355.

<sup>141</sup> Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *Israel-Arab Reader*, 467.

of reducing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. The détente as far as the involvement of superpowers, put the Arab-Israeli conflict temporarily aside.<sup>142</sup>

After the war broke out unexpectedly in 1973, the two superpowers policy of détente no longer continued. The two superpowers re-supplied forces again. The United States supplied equipment to Israel and the Soviets supplied arms to Egypt and Syria.<sup>143</sup> Moroccan forces fought in war against Israel.<sup>144</sup> Shortly after the war broke out, the UN issued another Security Resolution. This new Resolution was arranged and guided by the United States.<sup>145</sup> It provided a new opportunity for direct negotiations with all parties involved. UN Security Resolution 338 was adopted on October 22, 1973, it called for a cease fire and for the implementation of UN Resolution 242 from 1967. UN Resolution 338 also declared that along with the cease fire, the parties establish “a just and durable peace in the Middle East.”<sup>146</sup> From October 23, 1973 and forward, Sadat established a direct relationship with the United States.

The results of the war were direct discussions between Egypt and Israel. It also resulted in a disengagement plan between Egypt, Syria and Israel. An interim agreement on the Sinai Peninsula was signed in 1975. This agreement eventually led to the historical visit to the Israeli Parliament by Sadat. The Camp David Accords, signed by Egypt and Israel with the assistance of the United States, paved the way for

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<sup>142</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 165.

<sup>143</sup> Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, 322.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 285.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 323.

<sup>146</sup> Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *Israel-Arab Reader*, 481.



the Israeli-Egypt peace treaty.<sup>147</sup> This was the first peace treaty between Israel and an Arab state. Two additional factors in this war were that various types of missiles were used on a large-scale; and for the first time Arab oil producing countries used oil as a weapon. The oil weapon had major economic impacts on countries throughout the entire world.

### Inter-war period

The late 1970s and 1980s was a critical period as far as conflict in the Middle East. A civil war in Lebanon broke out in 1975 and lasted until 1981. The Lebanese were fighting against the PLO. In Iran, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was removed from power in 1979. The Shah was considered pro-western and moved to modernize the country.<sup>148</sup> The new leader of Iran, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini implemented an Islamic Republic and renounced western influence in the country.<sup>149</sup> The shift was clearly towards a fundamentalist government and was referred to as the Iranian Revolution. King Hassan welcomed the Shah into Morocco for temporary exile after he was forced to leave Iran in 1979. His arrival in Morocco was referred to as a “strictly private visit.”<sup>150</sup> However, the Shah’s welcoming in Morocco demonstrated King Hassan’s support for the monarchical system in the Middle East.

The late 1970’s were also important because King Hassan arranged talks between Arabs and Israelis. Morocco became a meeting ground for Arab and Israeli

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<sup>147</sup> Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, 379.

<sup>148</sup> Donald N. Wilber, *Iran, Past and Present: From Monarchy to Islamist Republic*, 9th ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 128-129.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 332.

<sup>150</sup> Marvine Howe, “Morocco Security Tight as Shah Arrives for ‘Strictly Private Visit’,” *New York Times*, p. A3, January 23, 1979. <http://www.proquest.umi.com/>, (accessed October 2, 2007).

government leaders. The obvious location shows that King Hassan actions were valued. Another conflict broke out in 1980, it was the eight year war between Iran and Iraq. This drew concern to the stability of the Persian Gulf Region.<sup>151</sup> On October 6, 1981, President Sadat of Egypt was assassinated by Muslim fundamentalists.<sup>152</sup> Sadat's predecessor, Hosni Mubarak, promised to continue to uphold the peace treaty with Israel. By 1982, the Sinai Peninsula was entirely returned to Egypt.<sup>153</sup>

#### Operation Peace for Galilee - June 6, 1982

Despite significant gains to the peacemaking process, peace between the Arab states and Israel did not last long. The next breakout in conflicts occurred from inter-Arab quarrels. PLO units established their headquarters in Lebanon after being removed from the country of Jordan. The PLO took the southern part of the country and established a state within a state.<sup>154</sup> With the help of Syrians, the PLO units launched attacks against Israel inside Lebanese territory. Israel launched Operation Peace for Galilee in 1982. Operation Peace for Galilee was geared to force the PLO units out of Lebanon. The operation was inspired by the fact that PLO units used Southern Lebanon as a base for rocket propelled grenade attacks into Israel. Operation Peace for Gaililee was successful in getting rid of the PLO from Lebanon. After the PLO units were expelled from Lebanon in 1982, they established their

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<sup>151</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 206.

<sup>152</sup> Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, 323.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 320.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 362.

central headquarters in Tunisia, but continued to maintain bases throughout several Arab countries.<sup>155</sup> The defeat of the PLO in Lebanon in 1982 did not have the desired results in the occupied areas that the Israeli government intended. Palestinian groups did not stop the resistance, instead outbreaks were renewed.

#### Intifada - December 9, 1987

The *intifada* (shaking off) resulted from the Palestinian's dissatisfaction with Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza strip. The organizing forces for the uprising were civilians, not the PLO. Incidents of violence between Palestinians and Israelis occurred more frequently. The PLO had not accomplished anything either militarily or diplomatically for Palestinian self-determination. Resistance was unorganized, but when a traffic accident occurred on December 9, 1987, it caused a full-fledged uprising. The traffic accident killed four Arabs and injured seven others.<sup>156</sup> The Palestinians blamed Israel for the accident. Demonstrations occurred at the funerals of the dead and unrest spread throughout the occupied territories. Palestinians threw stones, spit at and insulted Israeli forces. In response, Israeli forces used water hoses, tear gas and clubs to control the crowds. Israel fired warning shots into the crowd and then demonstrators were shot at.<sup>157</sup>

The uprising brought international attention to the area. The Israeli government was criticized by their own Jewish population and the United States for

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<sup>155</sup> Peretz, *Arab-Israel Dispute*, 71.

<sup>156</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 219.

<sup>157</sup> Don Peretz, *Intifada the Palestinian Uprising* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), 39.

their harsh response to the demonstrations. Their unsympathetic response enabled the PLO to initiate political and diplomatic action.<sup>158</sup> The PLO denounced terrorism and recognized the Israeli state. The *Intifada* had many political consequences as well. King Hussein of Jordan relinquished his claim to the West Bank and severed all legal and administrative links to the territory.<sup>159</sup> The declaration of a Palestinian state was proclaimed in 1988. The U.S. government altered its policy of refusing to negotiate with the PLO and the first public meeting between the PLO and the United States occurred in December of 1988. This was the beginning of a new round of negotiations for a peace settlement in the Middle East.<sup>160</sup>

#### The Gulf War – August 2, 1990

Negotiations for peace were delayed with the outbreak of another war in the Middle East. The Gulf War began in August of 1990 when Iraq invaded Kuwait. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq proclaimed the Kuwaiti state as a province of Iraq. The Arab states were divided amongst those who supported President Hussein and those who opposed the invasion and the occupation of another Arab League member. Palestinians and PLO leaders sympathized with Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein.<sup>161</sup> Arab states such as Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates supported the American led invasion by providing financial

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<sup>158</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 221.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 230-231.

<sup>160</sup> Peretz, *Arab-Israel Dispute*, 93-94.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

contributions or military units.<sup>162</sup> Morocco sent troops to Saudi Arabia as a gesture of support to the West and Arab allies.<sup>163</sup> When Saddam Hussein failed to withdraw from Kuwait, the American led coalition launched an attack on Iraq. Iraq was defeated by coalition forces in January 1991.

For Israel, the defeat of Iraq in the Gulf War was advantageous to the country. The conflict damaged Iraq militarily, who at the time, was considered one of the most powerful Arab opponents to Israel. Also, the *Intifada* was almost completely stopped. Israel played a low-key role in the Gulf War at the request of the United States and despite Iraqi Scud missile attacks on Israeli soil. The United States and Israel renewed talks after the Gulf War. Prior to the war, relations were strained due to Israel's lack of response to the PLO initiatives for peace.<sup>164</sup> At the conclusion of the war, President George H.W. Bush announced plans for peace in the Middle East. President Bush planned to restructure security in the Persian Gulf, reduce arms in the region and expand the economic system in the Middle East for new opportunities such as peace and stability.

The end of the Cold War changed the atmosphere in the Middle East. The collapse of the Soviet Union meant that Arab states could no longer receive military, economic or diplomatic aid from Russia. The Arab regimes that were once opponents of Israel were now willing participants for peace after the Cold War. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States were characterized by cooperation in

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>163</sup> Pennell, *Morocco since 1830*, 370.

<sup>164</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 243.

the 1990s rather than competition.<sup>165</sup> The United States and Israel both argued that the Gulf War did not develop from the Arab-Israeli conflict; however, the war was the catalyst for the occurrence of the Madrid Peace Conference. It was the first conference of direct talks between Israel and the Arab states.<sup>166</sup>

While progress was achieved throughout the Arab-Israeli disputes from 1948 to 1991, outstanding issues remain today. This section outlined eight conflicts that involved numerous countries around the world. Various factors contributed to the continuance of the Arab-Israeli dispute. Crucial to this thesis are the wars in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of King Hassan. Two of the wars occurred before King Hassan assumed leadership in Morocco. Although he did not moderate in these wars, he did act as a liaison between the radical and conservative regimes in the Middle East. The subsequent section traces King Hassan's relationship with Israel and outlines his precise actions for mediating peace between the Arab states and Israel illustrating his concern for peace in the region. He continued to act as an intermediary up until his death in 1999.

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<sup>165</sup> Peretz, *Arab-Israel Dispute*, 97.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 98.

### SECTION THREE

## Morocco's Jewish Population

Muslim-Jewish relations had its roots in Morocco both prior to the French protectorate and after Morocco received its sovereignty. This fact allowed for the opening of relations between Morocco and Israel. Jews have resided in Morocco for nearly 2,000 years.<sup>167</sup> In Morocco, and other Muslim countries, Jewish-Muslim relations were based on the Islamic principle of *Ahl-al-Dhimma*. This was a contract or covenant between Muslim rulers and the non-Muslim populations. A *dhimmi*, is a protected person, either Jewish or Christian and were subject to heavy land and poll taxes known as *jizyah*. *Dhimmi*s had the freedom to worship and experienced a large measure of self governance. However, they could not exercise control over Muslims and were subject to discriminatory social regulations.<sup>168</sup> The code of the *dhimma* required the Jews to dress differently from Muslims. The Jews were not allowed to build their churches, synagogues or their homes higher than Muslims' tallest buildings.<sup>169</sup>

In Morocco, the execution of the *dhimma* varied by location. In the *bilad al-siba*, (the land of dissidence where the central government was not established), the Sultan relied on the tribal communities to protect the Jews. The tribes were committed to the Sultan's religious authority.<sup>170</sup> In the territory known as the *bilad al-makhzan*, (the land where the central government was established), the Jews

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<sup>167</sup> Haïm Zafrani, *Two Thousand Years of Jewish Life in Morocco* (Jersey City: KTAV Publishing House, 2005), 289.

<sup>168</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 7.

<sup>169</sup> André Chouraqui, *Between East and West: a History of the Jews of North Africa* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968), 46.

<sup>170</sup> Shlomo Deshen and Walter Zenner, *Jewish Societies in the Middle East: Community, Culture, and Authority* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), 93.



followed the traditional form of the *dhimma*. They received protection from the Sultan.<sup>171</sup> They were required to pay a tax or tribute to the Muslim sovereign. In return, the sovereign ensured their physical and economic security, as well as their religious liberty and political autonomy.<sup>172</sup>

Before the French protectorate in Morocco, the Jewish population's legal, political and social status was not at the same standards as Muslims, due to the code of the *dhimma*. Any incident large or small, change of regime, or epidemic caused an uprising against the Jews. Outbreaks against the Jews were common in North Africa, but were passing in nature.<sup>173</sup> Chouraqui, a well respected scholar in the area of Muslim-Jewish relations in North Africa summarized relations in the following statement:

During most periods of history, the Jews of North Africa were happier than those in most parts of Europe, where they were objects of unrelenting hate; such extreme sentiments did not exist in the Maghreb.<sup>174</sup>

Chouraqui goes on to state that the contempt the Jews faced was based on tradition and ritual. The attacks were not based on passion.<sup>175</sup> It is safe to assume that both positive and negative relations existed amongst the two communities. Schroeter explains the Muslim-Jewish relations best; he stated that the relationship between Muslims and Jews in Morocco varied as the country went through different periods and regional settings. The two communities were dependent on one another. While the Jewish society was built on reliance, it was also built around tension. When

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>173</sup> Chouraqui, *Between East and West*, 51.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 55.

foreign interference occurred, the differences between the two groups were made even more visible.<sup>176</sup>

The majority of the Jewish population lived in a walled quarters or *mellahs* throughout the country. The *mellah* was a city inside a city, and usually located close to the Sultan's palace. The Sultan wished to show that the Jews were under his protection. Jews were susceptible to violence with the passing of a Sultan. Revolts and feuds by the sons wishing to assume the throne caused periods of instability in the country. With the absence of a stable government, Berber tribes could commit crimes against the vulnerable Jewish population.<sup>177</sup> The *mellahs* in Morocco had some of the worst living conditions.<sup>178</sup> The *mellah*'s gates and doors were locked at night. There was no room for expansion inside the walled quarters and overcrowding occurred.<sup>179</sup> Despite poor living conditions inside the *mellahs*, Jewish relations with Moroccans on a personal level were good and the two groups interacted with each other for fair commercial transactions.<sup>180</sup> The Jews acted as merchant middlemen and as peddlers between the people in the country and the town. Jews held the occupations of traders and craftsmen and formed the central commercial network of the *Maghreb*.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Daniel J. Schroeter, *The Sultan's Jews: Morocco and the Sephardi World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 10.

<sup>177</sup> H.Z. Hirschberg, *History Round the Clock: North African Jewry* (Tel Aviv: Women's International Zionist Organization, 1957), 27-29.

<sup>178</sup> Chouraqui, *Between East and West*, 124.

<sup>179</sup> Hirschberg, *History Round the Clock*, 29.

<sup>180</sup> Reeva S. Simon, Michael M. Laskier and Sara Reguer, *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 480.

<sup>181</sup> Chouraqui, *Between East and West*, 131.

When France became a protectorate of Morocco, the Jews welcomed the French authorities as liberators from their second class status in Morocco. The French helped Morocco economically by avoiding isolation in the developing world and modernizing the country.<sup>182</sup> The French protectorate improved living conditions for the Jewish population. Over the next forty years the Jewish community in Morocco increased significantly. At the beginning of the French protectorate in 1912, the Jewish population in Morocco was 110,000. Towards the end of the protectorate, the Jewish population increased to 240,000. This was due to improved sanitary conditions in the *mellahs* and natural birth rates under the protectorate.<sup>183</sup>

Despite the improvements of living conditions inside the country, the presence of the French in the country completely disrupted the pattern of coexistence that existed between Jews and Muslims over the last thousand years.<sup>184</sup> On the whole, Jews in Morocco enjoyed a greater degree of freedom and toleration than other Jews living in Arab states.<sup>185</sup> However, this did not stop their migration to the Holy Land of Israel. In fact, Jews migrated from not only Morocco, but from the other countries as well. The emigration of the Jews from Morocco is contributed to three main factors. The first factor was Germany's occupation of France and the adoption of Vichy's anti-Semitic laws in French Morocco during World War II. The second factor was the creation of the state of Israel. The third factor was the Jewish population's uncertainty in Morocco after the French protectorate ended and the

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid., xvii.

<sup>183</sup> Simon and Reguer, *Jews of the Middle East*, 486.

<sup>184</sup> Chouraqui, *Between East and West*, 265.

<sup>185</sup> Jacob Abadi, "The Road to the Israeli-Moroccan Rapprochement," *The Journal of North African Studies* 5, no. 1 (2000): 29.

country received it sovereignty. The three factors will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The outbreak of World War II in 1939 and Germany's occupation of France in 1940 was one reason for the Jewish people's desire to leave French Morocco.<sup>186</sup> North Africa's close proximity to Europe, the large European population in North Africa and its colonial status, all contributed to the Jewish population experiencing the Vichy's anti-Semitic policies.<sup>187</sup> When Germany occupied France, the new Vichy government enacted anti-Jewish laws in France that applied to the French protectorates. King Mohammed V opposed the implementation of the Vichy decrees issued by the French authorities. A document discovered in the archives of the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed King Mohammed's attitude. A telegram titled "Change in Attitude of the Sultan of Morocco Towards the French Authorities" to Vichy on May 24, 1941 stated the following.

We have learned from a reliable source that relations between the Sultan of Morocco and the French authorities have been quite tense since the day when the Office of the Resident General applied the decree concerning the 'measures against the Jews,' despite the official opposition of the Sultan. The Sultan refused to distinguish among his subjects, saying that all were 'loyal.'<sup>188</sup>

King Mohammed was quoted in the same telegram stating to his Jewish subjects in the presence of French officials that,

I in no way approve of the anti-Semitic laws and I refuse to be associated with any measure of which I disapprove. I wish to inform

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<sup>186</sup> Simon and Reguer, *Jews of the Middle East*, 493-494.

<sup>187</sup> Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1991). 121.

<sup>188</sup> Zafrani, *Two Thousand Years*, 295.

you that, as in the past, the Jews remain under my protection and I refuse to allow any distinction to be made among my subjects.<sup>189</sup>

The Vichy laws were the harshest during the period of July 1940 to November 8, 1941 when the allied forces landed in North Africa.<sup>190</sup> Despite the efforts of King Mohammed to protect his Jewish population, it was not enough and the anti-Semitic laws caused many Jews to leave the country voluntarily.

The second factor for Jewish migration was the creation of the state of Israel. In 1950, Israel's government passed legislation, known as the "the Law of Return". This new law stated that "every Jew has the right to immigrate to this country."<sup>191</sup> The Jewish population's desire to return to the "promised land" had a significant impact on Jews leaving Morocco. The Central Bureau of Statistics of the State and Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency recorded that from 1948 to 1956 175,000 Jews from the *Maghreb* migrated to Israel. 110,000 of those Jews were from Morocco.<sup>192</sup>

The third factor that caused the Jewish population to migrate was the end of the French protectorate in Morocco in 1956. Morocco's independence caused uncertainty to the Jewish population located in French Morocco. At the time of Morocco's Independence, the Jewish community numbered 275,000. This was the largest Jewish population in any Arab country at that time. Jewish nationalism and uncertainty during the transition from the protectorate to independence were some

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<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 294.

<sup>191</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Law of Return 5710-1950," July 5, 1950, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/>, (accessed August 1, 2007).

<sup>192</sup> Hirschberg, *History Round the Clock*, 47.

reasons for migration. Political conditions caused fluctuations to the freedom of movement to Israel. The frequent change caused anxiety in the Jewish population. When periods of free movement ended, clandestine operations began.<sup>193</sup>

### Motivations to an Alliance

Morocco and Israel had reciprocal interests when relations began in the mid 1950s. The alliance between the two countries enabled King Hassan to arbitrate more effectively during the latter part of the Arab-Israeli wars. Morocco and Israel were in the beginning phases of establishing relations when the Arab-Israeli wars occurred in 1948, 1956 and 1967. Mediation between the two countries did not occur during those wars. Israel and Morocco both had motivations when they sought contact with one another. Morocco and Israel both needed mutual assistance as new states. Morocco sought support from Israel in order to gain Independence. However, Israel did not want to jeopardize relations with France so they were unable to assist the Moroccans. Israel wanted Morocco to have a lenient policy towards Jewish emigration out of the country. After King Hassan ascended to the throne, he sought assistance from Israel in the intelligence and military fields.<sup>194</sup>

The second common interest the two countries shared was the need to develop diplomatic and economic connections with other parts of the world. Israel maintained economic relations with South Africa and the states considered Black Africa. In an effort to avoid isolation in the developing world, Israel also contacted countries that

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<sup>193</sup> Zafrani, *Two Thousand Years*, 298-299.

<sup>194</sup> Laskier, *Israel and the Maghreb*, 138-139.

were newly independent.<sup>195</sup> In the *Maghreb*, Israel contacted Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. The third commonality was their desire to prevent radical regimes spreading throughout the Arab world. The Israeli government feared that Egypt would sabotage Israeli economic and social involvement in Africa. Israel also wanted to distance the *Maghreb* from the Arab League. Morocco, a conservative country, did not want the Middle East to be dominated by Egypt's radical ideology.<sup>196</sup> King Hassan also found it necessary to prevent the spread of radical movements inside the country, such as the one led by opposition leader, Mehdi Ben Barka.

#### Mediation Efforts by King Hassan and the Benefits to Morocco

During the first three Arab-Israeli wars, Moroccan-Israeli relations revolved around mass Jewish emigration from Morocco to Israel and the trading of intelligence. After the 1973 war, relations were improved when King Hassan took an active role in mediating conflict between the Arabs and Israelis. King Hassan played an important role in mediating conflict in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Two significant events characterized King Hassan as a conservative leader among the radical regimes and as a mediator for the Arab states, Israel and the United States. The first action was King Hassan's role as a host during the many Arab and Islamic summit meetings. The second was his role as a mediator during the latter part of the Arab-Israeli conflicts. To improve relations inside Morocco, King Hassan appointed

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<sup>195</sup> Susan Aurelia Gitelson, *Israel's African Setback in Perspective*, (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974), 6.

<sup>196</sup> Laskier, *Israel and the Maghreb*, 138-139.

a Jewish leader to his government. This helped to improve relations with Jews inside the country. A tourism industry developed as Jews began traveling to Morocco. King Hassan also met secretly and directly with government leaders from Israel and took the risk of harming relations with regimes in the Arab states. All of these actions combined show that King Hassan was driven to improve conditions inside Morocco and to establish peace in the Middle East.

King Hassan played a large role in building relations between Morocco and Israel and also facilitating peace between the Arab States and Israel. The following section assesses Moroccan-Israeli relations from the beginning of relations in the 1950s through King Hassan's death in 1999. Discussions between Morocco and Israel began when the large Jewish population in Morocco wanted to migrate to Israel. In the mid 1950s leaders in Morocco opposed Jewish migration to Israel on the grounds that the migrants were joining the Israeli Defense Forces and fighting Arab countries. The Moroccan government also feared economic repercussions.<sup>197</sup> Israelis initially wanted Morocco to offer a lenient policy towards Jewish emigration from Morocco. Israel feared French reaction to relations with Morocco, however Israel also wanted to assist the Jewish communities in the *Maghreb*. In the 1950's Israel tried to avoid isolation in the Third World. Israel also attempted to distance the *Maghreb* from the Arab League and from Egypt. In Morocco, Israel contacted government officials, groups opposed to the monarchy, palace employees and security-intelligence officers. Israel even went as far as to contact Moroccan officials

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 67-68.



by way of journalists, intellectuals, and representatives of Jewish organizations. Israel and opposition leader, Mehdi Ben Barka established relations for a short time. Ben Barka promised support for Moroccan Jews to immigrate to Israel in return for Israel's support of his opposition group, the *Union Nationale des Forces Populaires* (National Union of Popular Forces or UNFP). Ben Barka also asked for western organizations to support his "popular forces," by giving financial assistance and obtaining weapons for them.<sup>198</sup>

When the French authorities in Morocco halted legal mass emigration in 1956, an underground movement ensued.<sup>199</sup> Morocco became a member of the Arab League in 1958 and migration was even more difficult.<sup>200</sup> The *Mossad*, Israel's intelligence agency arranged a secret campaign of migration, called *Operation Yakhin* in 1960.<sup>201</sup> The Operation was the secret emigration of Moroccan Jews to Israel. Tens of thousands of Jews migrated covertly from Morocco to Israel. Not all Jews went to Israel, they settled in France, Canada and the United States.<sup>202</sup> The underground movement made international attention on January 10, 1961 when a small boat, named the *Pisces*, carrying forty-four Jews, sank on the northern coast of

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<sup>198</sup> Michael M. Laskier, "Israel and the Maghreb at the Height of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: 1950's-1970's," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 4, no. 2 (June 2000), <http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2000/issue2/jv4n2a7.html>, (accessed July 23, 2007).

<sup>199</sup> Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 174.

<sup>200</sup> Pennell, *Morocco since 1830*, 311.

<sup>201</sup> Laskier, 'Height of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.'

<sup>202</sup> Pennell, *Morocco since 1830*, 311.

Morocco as they attempted to leave the country.<sup>203</sup> King Mohammed reversed the French policy prohibiting migration shortly before his death in February of 1961.<sup>204</sup>

The ties in the late 1950s and early 1960s allowed additional exchanges of information between the two countries. Early Moroccan-Israeli contacts in the 1960s revolved around the exchange of intelligence and defense strategies. In 1963, Israeli security forces trained the Moroccan forces. King Hassan had a permanent delegation of the *Mossad* in Morocco. The office was in place so that the *Mossad*, Israeli leaders, King Hassan and his senior officials could meet. Morocco was one of the first Arab countries to establish ties with Israel; however, they did not consider the ties “diplomatic relations”. It was during the decolonization period and mostly in the decade after the war in 1967 that contacts became more frequent.<sup>205</sup>

Morocco was the host of several Islamic and Arab summit meetings. King Hassan consistently acted as a moderator between the radical and conservative regimes in the Middle East during these summits. Arab summit conferences were designed to handle disputes between inter-Arab states which regular meetings could not overcome. Arab summit meetings were held in Morocco in 1965, 1969, 1974, 1981, 1982 and 1985.<sup>206</sup> King Hassan also hosted the first Islamic summit meeting in 1969 and continuing summits in 1984 and 1994.<sup>207</sup> The two conferences in 1969 allowed the United States to recognize King Hassan as a moderate in the Arab world

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<sup>203</sup> Laskier, ‘Height of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.’

<sup>204</sup> Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 174.

<sup>205</sup> Laskier, ‘Height of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.’

<sup>206</sup> Yaacov Shimoni, *Political Dictionary of the Arab World* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 339.

<sup>207</sup> Organisation of the Islamic Conference, “Islamic Summit Conference,” <http://www.oic-oci.org/>, (accessed November 19, 2007).

and showed that he could be of help to Israel. The first one was the Islamic summit in September of 1969 and the second was the Arab summit in December of 1969.

King Hassan was one of the original promoters of the Islamic summit meetings. In fact, the Organisation of Islamic Summit (OIC) was established at the September 1969 meeting in Rabat, Morocco. Twenty five Muslim nations were present at the summit. King Hassan's convening of the Islamic summit was seen as a major achievement by the United States.

We agree that bringing together government leaders (including 9 heads of state) representing about 300 million Moslems was a major achievement. It took considerable skill on the part of Hassan and co-initiator King Faisal of Saudi Arabia to gain rapid agreement for early scheduling of a summit and to persuade suspicious non-Arab Moslems to participate in an Arab-dominated assembly. Less than a week before opening day, President Nasser launched a counteroffensive seeking to postpone the summit indefinitely. In the end, his bluff was called and a UAR delegation was dispatched to Rabat. Only Iraq and Syria of the "progressive" Arab group failed to appear. A final crisis occurred in mid-summit, when a belated invitation to India provoked a stormy Pakistani response and India's ouster. Even this turbulent event, which might have broken up any other conference, only prolonged the meeting an extra day.<sup>208</sup>

The conference declared for Palestine the "full support to the Palestinian people for the restitution of their rights" and in their "struggle for national liberation."<sup>209</sup> It called for the reinstatement of Jerusalem's pre-June 1967 status and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territories from the 1967 war. Additionally, the conference requested that the countries of France, United Kingdom, United States and

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<sup>208</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1969-1976*, Denny to Richardson, Intelligence note 693, vol. E-5, part 2, North Africa, September 29, 1969, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e5part2/89591.htm>, (accessed November 2, 2007).

<sup>209</sup> Organisation of the Islamic Conference, "First Islamic Summit Conference," <http://www.oic-oci.org>, (accessed November 19, 2007).

Soviet Union secure compliance with the 1967 Security Council resolution, which called for a peace settlement and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories.

Despite demonstrating full support for the Palestinian people, divisions amongst the conservative and radical Arab regimes were present during the summit. King Hassan criticized Arab extremist groups in a news conference after the summit concluded. He stated that he supported the anti-Israeli groups “who fight at the front openly, who fight at the United Nations, who fight to convince states of their cause and their right (sic).”<sup>210</sup> He also stated that the radical elements did not serve “the Palestinian cause, the Arab cause or the Moslem cause.”<sup>211</sup> King Hassan met with American government leaders shortly after the conclusion of the summit. In a memorandum of conversation, King Hassan outlined his motivations to American government leaders,

Morocco, said Mr. Tahiri, has set its path and is on its way to the difficult goal of bringing a good life to its people. It is also seeking to make its contribution to peace in the Middle East as well as in the Mediterranean area. The King brought together the leaders of the Moslem world in a constructive fashion at the Islamic Conference. Morocco can in the future play a significant role. The King wished by his mission to show that his only concern was a constructive relationship with the United States and the internal strength of Morocco. Military strength was not a problem. The primary problem was economic.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Reuters, “Hassan Criticizes Arab Extremists,” *New York Times*, p.1, September 28, 1969, <http://www.proquest.umi.com/>, (accessed December 1, 2007).

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1969-1976*, Memorandum of Conversation, memo 99, vol. E-5, part 2, Morocco, October 7, 1969, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e5part2/89730.htm>, (accessed November 3, 2007).

King Hassan acknowledged that Morocco was experiencing economic problems. However, the creation of the OIC was an avenue to strengthen relations with other Muslim countries and to improve conditions in Morocco.

In December of 1969, King Hassan hosted the Fifth Arab Summit Conference in Rabat. The meeting was planned for the Arab countries to coordinate their military forces and economic resources against Israel.<sup>213</sup> President Nasser of Egypt declared in the summit that a full scale war against Israel was inevitable. The conference ended early due to the Arab countries' failure to come to a common consensus. The UAR asked for large amounts of financial aid for military purposes. Morocco, as well as the countries of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Algeria, and Tunisia refused to contribute financial aid to fund the war.<sup>214</sup>

King Hassan met with the U.S. Secretary of State, William Rogers, in February of 1970. In this conversation, King Hassan revealed he was willing to meet with the Israelis and offered his perspective on making peace. In a memorandum to the State Department, Rogers, reported King Hassan's thoughts on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The King said he did not expect those who made war to make peace. He placed hopes on young generation Israelis and was ready to meet with some Israelis his age for whom this is not a war of religion. King had no faith in implementation UN Resolution Nov 1967 and felt US

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<sup>213</sup> Raymond H. Anderson, "Top Arabs Gather in Rabat Amid Signs of Moderation," *New York Times*, p.1, December 20, 1969, <http://www.proquest.umi.com/>, (accessed November 2, 2007).

<sup>214</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1969-1976*, Hughes to Rogers, Intelligence note 876, vol. E-5, part 2, North Africa, December 24, 1969, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e5part2/89592.htm>, (accessed October 11, 2007).

and Sovs present spirit rapprochement should try to eliminate this one focus possible conflict (sic).<sup>215</sup>

King Hassan met with the President of the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Nahum Goldmann in June of 1970 shortly after his meeting with Secretary of State, Rogers. In a press interview Dr. Goldmann confirmed that King Hassan contacted him via a mutual friend and the two spoke about Dr. Goldmann's idea of a peace settlement at the King's palace. Before his meeting with King Hassan, Dr. Goldmann asked the Israeli Cabinet to approve a meeting between him and President Nasser of Egypt, but the meeting was not approved. Morocco was not considered at war with Israel, so approval by the government was not needed.<sup>216</sup>

A summit the following year did nothing to improve relations with Israel. However, the meeting was symbolic to the Arab states and Palestinians. In October of 1974 at an Arab summit held in Rabat, Morocco, the Arab heads of state unanimously recognized the PLO as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people"<sup>217</sup> The Israeli government rejected the conclusions of the summit. The Prime Minister of Israel, Rabin, declared that the government of Israel would "not negotiate with terrorist organizations whose avowed policy is to strive for Israel's destruction and whose method is terrorist violence."<sup>218</sup> This showed that while it was important to negotiate with the Israeli government, King Hassan

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<sup>215</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1969-1976, Rogers to Dept. of State to Embassy*, telegram 102, vol. E-5, part 2, Morocco, February 10, 1970, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/nixon/e5part2/89732.htm>, (accessed November 6, 2007).

<sup>216</sup> Reuters, "Goldmann Says He Talked with Hassan on the Mideast," *New York Times*, p.7, June 28, 1970, <http://www.proquest.umi.com/>, (accessed October 25, 2007).

<sup>217</sup> Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *Israel-Arab Reader*, 518

<sup>218</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Foreign Relations 1974-1977*, Rabin to Knesset, vol. 3, November 5, 1974. <http://www.mfa.gov.il/>, (accessed October 4, 2007).

continued supporting the Palestinian movement. While this move could have jeopardized relations with the United States and Israel, King Hassan did not abandon his goal of bringing peace in the Middle East nor his moderate approach.

King Hassan managed mediation efforts with Israel and the Arab states in the mid-1970s. In addition, he was making internal efforts for peace. The issue over the Western Sahara prolonged conflict between states in the *Maghreb*. King Hassan's goal to find peace both in and out of his country is evident in his peaceful demonstration to his claim on the Western Sahara. The plan was known as the Green March. It was the display of 350,000 unarmed Moroccans marching south to the Sahara as an act of reasserting the sovereignty of the Sahara which was held by the Spanish at that time.<sup>219</sup> King Hassan noted that,

Truly, everyone was armed: they brandished banners proclaiming Moroccan sovereignty, green flags and our national flag with its green star. Many also carried the Book. These arms were, to their way of thinking, more redoubtable than the most powerful and highly trained armoured divisions.<sup>220</sup>

The Green March in 1975 eventually became one of the most significant events of his reign and demonstrates that King Hassan genuinely wanted peace in Morocco and with neighboring Algeria. According to the King, the March illustrated Morocco's new obligations to its people. Over time he helped to improve the economic situation in the Western Sahara by building ports, railways, roads, factories, schools and hospitals.<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Kingdom of Morocco, "Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation," *Historical Summary*, <http://www.maec.gov.ma/en/default.html>, (accessed June 18, 2007).

<sup>220</sup> Hassan II, *Challenge*, 161.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

An additional domestic achievement by King Hassan was his improvement in relations with the Jewish community both inside Morocco and in Israel. In the mid 1970s, only 22,000 Jews resided in Morocco. A counselor to the King, Ahmed Reda Guedira, said that “King Hassan is determined to make Morocco a model of real Arab-Jewish co-existence.”<sup>222</sup> King Hassan’s efforts allowed conditions in the country to change. The Jews that were once separated in the *mellahs*, were allowed to live amongst Muslims. King Hassan made efforts to invite Moroccan Jews in Israel to return to the country. The Moroccan government offered these returnees financial assistance with lodging and help locating jobs. In addition to relocating back to Morocco, Jews also began vacationing in the country. The visitors increased the tourism industry and became an important link to Morocco’s economy.<sup>223</sup>

To show the importance of Arab-Israeli peace in the Middle East, King Hassan of Morocco played a role in the Egypt-Israeli peace talks in the late 1970s. In October 1976, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel arrived in Morocco disguised with a wig.<sup>224</sup> Direct Moroccan-Israeli contacts had not been made public at the time. In June of 1977, upon Israel’s request, King Hassan arranged a meeting between General Hofi, of Israel’s *Mossad* and General Kamal Hassan Ali, Egypt’s Director of Military Intelligence.<sup>225</sup> These advance talks led to President Sadat’s famous

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<sup>222</sup> Marvine Howe, “Homeland Attracts Some Moroccan Jews,” *New York Times*, p.A5, April 18, 1979, <http://www.proquest.umi.com/>, (accessed September 1, 2007).

<sup>223</sup> Simon and Reguer, *Jews of the Middle East*, 503.

<sup>224</sup> Laskier, ‘Height of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.’

<sup>225</sup> Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel from the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1996), 846.



November 1977 speech to the Egyptian National Assembly. Sadat informed the nation that he was willing to discuss peace directly with Israel.<sup>226</sup> Had it not been for the advance preparations in Morocco, the peace treaties may not have occurred. King Hassan's intermediary role between Egypt and Israel led to the signing of the Camp David Accords. This agreement returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. The Accords at Camp David led to the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty of 1979. The treaty was the first agreement signed between Israel and Egypt. It was based on the withdrawal and demilitarization of Israel from the Sinai Peninsula. In return, Egypt offered to fully recognize Israel.

In spite of contacts with Israel in the late 1970s, a settlement plan could not be completely agreed upon between the Arabs and Israelis. Relations between Morocco and Israel became public regardless of disagreements between the Arab states and Israel. In spite of efforts from the United States, the Soviet Union and the Arab states, negotiations of a settlement plan were not concluded in the early 1980s. After the 1982 war in Lebanon (known as Operation Peace for Galilee), President Reagan called for a peace plan in September 1982. The plan stated that it did not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, but it opposed permanent control or annexation of the territories by Israel. The plan called for a "self government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan."<sup>227</sup> The United States also advised the Israeli government to

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<sup>226</sup> Peretz, *Arab-Israel Dispute*, 77.

<sup>227</sup> Laqueur and Rubin, eds., *Israel-Arab Reader*, 661.

cease settlement activity in the area, but did not request the area to be dismantled.<sup>228</sup>

Both the Israelis and Palestinians rejected the plan.

King Hassan held an Arab summit meeting in Fez, Morocco within the month of President Reagan's plan. The provisions of the plan called for Israel to withdraw from all territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem, and for the removal of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. The Fez peace plan also called for a Palestinian state with PLO leadership. It was based on UN Security Resolution 242 and recognized the existence of the state of Israel.<sup>229</sup> The Soviet Union announced their peace plan, the *Brezhnev*, very similar to the Fez plan, but with provisions on Israeli security. However, both plans were rejected by the Israelis.<sup>230</sup>

Throughout the 1980s, King Hassan continued to deal with issues in the Western Sahara; however, he was determined to put an end to conflict and renew relations with other countries of the *Maghreb*. On the tenth Anniversary of the Green March, in 1985, the king addressed the Nation, stating,

Because of Morocco's eagerness to preserve Africa's present and future, and in response to the wishes expressed to me by some African, Arab and European Heads of States – friends of Morocco -, I have on behalf of my country, taken a decisive step forward, with a view to putting an end to the tension in Northwest Africa, proving thus Morocco's willingness and firm determination to see peace and security reinstalled in the region. I am referring to the initiative.<sup>231</sup>

The initiative was a peace plan sponsored by the United Nations. It called for a ceasefire and the creation of a referendum in order to decide the territory's future

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 663-664

<sup>230</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 218.

<sup>231</sup> Hassan II, *Tenth Anniversary*, 16-17.

standing. In 1988, after 12 years of strained relations, Morocco and Algeria renewed diplomatic activities. While the conflict in the Western Sahara has yet to be solved, renewing relations with Algeria was a step towards finding a “just and lasting solution” to the stalemate.<sup>232</sup>

King Hassan also established relations with Libya during the 1980s. Libya had previously been considered a long-time enemy of Morocco. Libyan and Moroccan leaders had a history of supporting each other’s opponents. Their alliance was not approved by the United States, however Morocco’s new relationship with Libya allowed for economic benefits in Morocco which would benefit local citizens. King Hassan’s actions demonstrate that economic benefits were a primary concern of his country. Morocco received a loan of 100 million dollars from Libya in 1985. Libya received assistance from Moroccan medical personnel and pharmaceuticals. The union with Libya also allowed Morocco to purchase Libyan oil at discounted prices.<sup>233</sup> The alliance demonstrated that King Hassan acted on what was best for Morocco domestically despite disapproval from the West.

In addition to renewed relations with Algeria and Libya, an important breakthrough in Moroccan-Israeli relations occurred. A public visit from an Israeli official occurred for the first time in Morocco. In mid-1986, Shimon Peres, the Israeli Prime Minister, traveled to Morocco; it was the first open visit from an Israeli official. Shimon Peres and President Reagan both suggested that the meeting occur in

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<sup>232</sup>Maddy-Weitzman, ‘Conflict’, 598.

<sup>233</sup> René Lemarchand, *The Green and the Black : Qadhafi's Policies in Africa, Indiana Series in Arab and Islamic Studies*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 75.

the United States. King Hassan rejected the offer because he wanted the meeting to be free of super power influence.<sup>234</sup> King Hassan became the second leader after President Sadat to establish open relations with Israel.<sup>235</sup>

During their discussions, Shimon Peres would not recognize the PLO and did not plan to withdraw from the occupied territories. King Hassan made it clear to Peres that any peace negotiation would have to include the evacuation of the occupied territories and the recognition of the PLO. The meeting was concluded without specific results. It was a significant event because it was the first time that an Arab leader and an Israeli official met without a mediator.<sup>236</sup> Other Arab countries were not pleased with the occurrence of the meeting. Syria severed ties with Morocco. The reception in Israel was more positive. The President of Israel, responded,

But I believe that perhaps more than anything else, the Prime Minister's actual trip under such circumstances - openly - to Morocco, proves that we have truly passed an important watershed in the Middle East. This trip perhaps proves, more than anything else, the tremendous progress that has been made - perhaps more in the region's subconsciousness, but now also in its consciousness.<sup>237</sup>

Besides showing his dedication to improving relations with Israel, King Hassan also spoke on behalf of Palestinians. He considered mediation between the Arabs and Israelis more productive if it came from inside the region, not by the outsiders (such as the Americans). In an address to the nation on July 23 1986, King Hassan declared

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<sup>234</sup> King Hassan II, "The Israeli Prime Minister's Visit to Morocco," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 16, no. 1 (1986): 166.

<sup>235</sup> Shimoni, *Political Dictionary*, 339.

<sup>236</sup> Hassan II, 'Israeli Prime Minister's Visit,' 166.

<sup>237</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Relations 1984-1988, Statement by President Herzog on the Peres Visit to Morocco, vol. 9-10, July 22 1986. <http://www.mfa.gov.il/>, (accessed November 11, 2007).

the following, “I, your servant and your king, have assumed the leading role in the proclamation of the PLO as the valid interlocutor and the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinians”.<sup>238</sup> The visit from Israeli’s Prime Minister was a step towards resolving the barrier that had existed for many years. American and Israeli leaders refused to enter into negotiations with PLO. Later that year, the Palestinian uprising, known as the *Intifada* went into full force. The uprising forced Arabs and Israelis to reconsider their approaches to a peace settlement.

The decade of the 1990s was a defining period for the Arab-Israeli conflict and the superpower rivalry. For the United States, the dissolution of the Soviet Union was a symbolic ending to the Cold War. The Soviet Union could no longer arm the radical Arab regimes. Negotiations for peace were renewed when PLO denounced terrorism, recognized the existence of Israel and accepted UN Resolutions 242 and 338. A relationship between the United States and the PLO was established. Israel was urged by the United States to negotiate directly with the PLO.<sup>239</sup> The Gulf War in 1990 temporarily halted negotiations for peace. The United States and Israel both argued that the Gulf War was of no relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict; however, the war was the catalyst for the occurrence of the Madrid Peace Conference.<sup>240</sup>

The Madrid Peace Conference, convened in 1991 at Madrid, Spain after the Gulf War. It was the first conference of direct talks between Israel and the Arab states. The conference was two-fold, bilateral and multilateral talks occurred. The

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<sup>238</sup> Hassan II, ‘Israeli Prime Minister’s Visit,’ 165.

<sup>239</sup> Peretz, *Arab-Israel Dispute*, 93.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 98.

bilateral talks were planned to resolve conflicts in the past and the negotiations were geared at achieving peace with the Palestinians and with the countries of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Multilateral negotiations were aimed at building the future Middle East. The negotiations were geared towards issues that affected the entire Middle East such as economic development, environmental issues, arms control and the refugee population. Working groups met at different locations over various periods of time. Morocco was a participant in the multilateral negotiations.<sup>241</sup>

In September of 1993, an agreement was signed by the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat and the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin. They signed a Declaration of Principles that eventually extended limited autonomy to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Declaration of Principles was also referred to as the Oslo Accords because they were finalized in Oslo, Norway after a series of secret talks. The agreements were a framework for future relations between Israel and the Palestinians. The Accords established the creation of a Palestinian authority and called for the withdrawal of the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Israel and the PLO formally recognized each other's right to exist.<sup>242</sup> Additionally, Israel made progress in establishing formal relations with Morocco.

In 1994, Morocco and Israel agreed to official diplomatic relations. The opening of offices in Morocco and Israel was an important development in the relationship between the two countries. Liaison offices were opened in Rabat and Tel

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<sup>241</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Madrid Framework," October 30, 1991, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/>, (accessed November 12, 2007).

<sup>242</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements," September 13, 1993, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/>, (accessed November 29, 2007).

Aviv. King Hassan opened the offices despite hesitation from Moroccan cabinet members.<sup>243</sup> By this time, Moroccan Jews played important political roles in Morocco's cities.<sup>244</sup> This showed King Hassan's dedication to solving the conflict in Israel and establishing better relations with Jews inside the country.

An even more important milestone occurred in late 1994, the convening of the first Middle East-North Africa Economic Summit in Casablanca, and the Seventh Islamic Summit in Rabat, hosted by King Hassan. In the Middle-East North Africa Economic Summit, King Hassan brought together Arabs and Israelis to discuss the partnerships of businesses and governments in the Middle East, in addition to the issue of comprehensive peace.<sup>245</sup> This conference occurred as a result of the bilateral talks at the Madrid Peace Conference. The following year, the second Middle East-North Africa Economic Summit convened in Jordan. It was the largest economic summit ever gathered. Sixty countries participated in the three day conference.<sup>246</sup>

The Seventh Islamic Summit held in December of 1994 was another event demonstrating King Hassan's role as a moderator among the Arab states. Islamic countries convened at the summit in order to "strengthen solidarity between the Member States." King Hassan called on the larger Muslim community to help with the Arab nation to "...settle its differences, close ranks, unify positions and rise above the causes of contention among brothers." King Hassan was unanimously elected as

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<sup>243</sup> Laskier, 'Height of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.'

<sup>244</sup> Hughes, *Morocco under King Hassan*, 46.

<sup>245</sup> *The Casablanca Report: The Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit, October 30-November 1, 1994, Casablanca, Morocco*, (New York and Geneva: Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., and the World Economic Forum, 1995), 33.

<sup>246</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 282.

the Chairman.<sup>247</sup> This was a position that he would later use to assist the United States in achieving peace between Palestinians and Israelis.

In addition to economic summits, the mid-1990s brought several noteworthy arrangements between Israel and the Arab states. First, Israel relinquished control of the Gaza Strip and Jericho. Second, King Hussein of Jordan and Israel signed a peace agreement which ended the state of war between the two countries. Next, Israel and the Palestinians signed an empowerment agreement for the West Bank. Israel turned over administrative power to the Palestinians in several areas with additional areas to follow in the future. A second phase of the agreement was signed in 1995 that pertained to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Oslo II or Taba Accords (signed in Taba, Egypt) expanded Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza and called for elections of a Palestinian council and the release of Palestinian prisoners.<sup>248</sup>

When bilateral talks were at a standstill, the Foreign Minister of Israel, Shimon Peres, met with King Hassan in 1995. Yasser Arafat, leader of the PLO, also attended the meeting in Morocco. The point of the meeting was to repair peace talks between the Arab states and Israel.

At the conclusion of the meeting, King Hassan's role as mediator was acknowledged by Israeli and Palestinian leaders. They issued the following statement,

The Israelis and the Palestinians, recognizing the important role of His Majesty King Hassan II in the peace process in general and the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations in particular, considered it appropriate, at this stage of the process, for Mr. Yasser Arafat and Mr. Shimon Peres to

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<sup>247</sup> Organisation of the Islamic Conference, "The Seventh Islamic Summit Conference," <http://www.oic-oci.org/>, (accessed November 19, 2007).

<sup>248</sup> Peretz, *Arab-Israel Dispute*, 104.



consult with H.M. the King of Morocco. A meeting was held under his patronage to seek ways to bolster and accelerate the peace process with the aim of implementing as rapidly as possible the obligations contained in the Oslo, Washington and Cairo agreements. Mr. Shimon Peres and Mr. Yasser Arafat wish to thank His Majesty King Hassan II for the opportunity to meet with him in Morocco, for his warm and cordial hospitality, and for his untiring efforts throughout the years in the cause of peace.<sup>249</sup>

This meeting showed that Israel valued the continuing efforts for peace by King Hassan. The meeting also demonstrated Israel's recognition that mediation efforts must come from within the region and not by outside groups.

As part of the continuing Oslo peace accords, the Israeli government arranged the turnover of land to Palestinians over a period of time. During the process, the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, was assassinated in 1995 by a Jewish extremist. Rabin was the first Israeli leader to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians and to negotiate with the PLO. World leaders gathered at his funeral, including representatives from Morocco. It was an indication that Rabin had changed the Middle East. King Hassan was not present at the funeral because of an illness; however, the Prime Minister of Morocco attended on his behalf.<sup>250</sup> King Hassan offered genuine regards about Rabin to an Israeli newspaper. King Hassan considered Prime Minister Rabin, a friend, "a pillar of the Middle East

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<sup>249</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Foreign Relations 1995-1996*, Joint Statement by King Hassan II, Foreign Minister Peres and PA Chairman Arafat, vol. 15, May 28, 1995. <http://www.mfa.gov.il/>, (accessed December 9, 2007).

<sup>250</sup> Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (New York Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004), 211.

peace process and a great leader."<sup>251</sup> Shimon Peres, Rabin's successor was forced to temporarily discontinue peace negotiations after terrorist activities by Islamist groups.

In March 1996, King Hassan as well as many other world leaders attended the "Summit of the Peacemakers" in Egypt. The summit was sponsored jointly by the United States and Egypt and was geared to salvaging the peace accords. Twenty-nine countries were represented, including Israel. The summit was a symbol to the world that attacks on Israel were not condoned. It was also a show of public support for PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli leader Shimon Peres.<sup>252</sup> This summit demonstrated a growing public recognition of Israel by other Arab states and can be attributed to King Hassan's efforts as a peacemaker.

King Hassan was equally committed to improving conditions in Morocco. He reaffirmed his determination for domestic peace in November of 1996. He met directly with Polisario leaders, the group seeking independence in the Western Sahara. The king confirmed his dedication to the peace plan sponsored by the United Nations and to improving conditions in the region. In a speech to the nation on the 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the Green March, he stated the following,

...and we have given them [Western Sahara] priority in the sphere of economic, social and cultural development. Thanks be to God, our efforts and sacrifices have borne fruit. Now, one can see over there big cities and huge developments. One can also see residents and youths whose eyes are glowing with enthusiasm and nationalism as well as readiness to meet, like in the past, internal or external challenges facing their country in the same way as their brethren in the north. Dear people: This is what I wanted to tell you on the occasion of [the

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<sup>251</sup> Reuters, "Morocco's Hassan: 'I lost a friend'," *Jerusalem Post*, p. 11, November 7, 1995, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>, (accessed October 30, 2007).

<sup>252</sup> Douglas Jehl, "Middle East Talks Are Effort to Aid Peres and Arafat," *New York Times*, p. A1, March 13, 1996, <http://www.proquest.umi.com/>, (accessed October 30, 2007).

anniversary of] the Green March. I wanted to tell you that our march has always been a march for development, for progress, for unity and for forgiveness for everybody. It has also been a march for the future.<sup>253</sup>

This shows King Hassan's perseverance in solving the dispute in the Western Sahara and to economic growth in the territory.

As for the Arab-Israeli peace process, riots and violence continued to disrupt development throughout the mid-to-late 1990s. However, in January of 1997, relations between the Arab states and Israel were renewed with the signing of the Hebron Agreement by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and PLO leader Yasser Arafat. The Hebron Agreement was a provision of the Oslo Accords and called for withdrawal of Israeli troops from 80 percent of Hebron. Hebron was the only remaining city under Israeli occupation in the West Bank. The United States actively participated in the peace process. Dennis Ross, the chief Middle East peace negotiator in the George H.W. Bush and Clinton administrations, facilitated the signing of the Hebron Agreement. Dennis Ross met with King Hassan and urged him to "use his influence both on Arafat (to act on security) and on the OIC (to avoid inflammatory anti-Israel resolutions)".<sup>254</sup>

The agreement was a step forward in the peace process. The Hebron agreement enabled Israel and Morocco to restore relations with Morocco. Following the signing of the Hebron Agreement, King Hassan was one of a few Arab leaders to personally recognize Israel's efforts for continued peace. He sent a letter of

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<sup>253</sup> RTM TV, Rabat, "King Hassan Confirms Talks Held With Polisario Delegation," *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, pt. 4, November 8, 1996, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>, (accessed November 10, 2007).

<sup>254</sup> Ross, *Missing Peace*, 340.

congratulations to Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel. It was King Hassan's first direct contact with the new Prime Minister.<sup>255</sup> Soon after, the two leaders discussed the possibility of opening of direct flights between Israel and Morocco.<sup>256</sup>

The peace process constantly varied in the late 1990s. The talks resumed in October of 1998 with the signing of the Wye River Memorandum. It was an interim agreement that called for further Israeli withdrawal of the West Bank, release of Palestinian prisoners and ratification of the PLO's Charter that contained references to the destruction of Israel. However, domestic issues in Israel temporarily halted peace talks. The Israeli government was dissolved in December of 1998, and new elections were called. In a speech before the Israeli elections, King Hassan encouraged Jews of Moroccan origin to vote for peace.<sup>257</sup> The next Prime Minister, Ehud Barak was elected in May, 1999. He was committed to full peace based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.<sup>258</sup> King Hassan died shortly after the swearing in of the new Prime Minister of Israel.

The Monarch's funeral on July 25, 1999, provided a final meeting place for world leaders. World leaders such as President Chirac of France, American President Clinton and Charles, Prince of Wales attended the ceremony in Morocco as a demonstration of western support. Also in attendance were Israeli leaders such as the

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<sup>255</sup> David Makovsky, "Morocco Praises Accord," *Jerusalem Post*, p.2, January 17, 1997, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>, (accessed November 12, 2007).

<sup>256</sup> Haim Shapiro, "TA-Casablanca Flights this Summer," *Jerusalem Post*, p. 12, January 23, 1997, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>, (accessed November 13, 2007).

<sup>257</sup> Kingdom of Morocco, Radio, Rabat, "King Hassan Urges Moroccan Jews to Vote for Peace in Israeli Elections," *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, May 4, 1999, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>, (accessed November 13, 2007).

<sup>258</sup> Bickerton, *History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 308-314.

former Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, and the newly elected Prime Minister, Ehud Barak.<sup>259</sup> King Hassan's funeral played a role in bringing together Arabs and Israelis. The occasion enabled the United States to promote a "spirit of peace" after Israel's recent election of Prime Minister Barak. The Arab delegations were eager to speak to the Israelis during the funeral. Prime Minister Barak met with the President of Algeria and spoke in front of Israeli television. This was a momentous occasion due to Algeria's past anti-Israel stance.<sup>260</sup>

The conflict is constantly changing as events and people alter its course; however, relations between Israel and the Palestinians continue today. Negotiations between the Arab states and Israel have improved over the past 40 years and can be contributed to the mediation efforts of King Hassan. Decades ago, Israel and the United States refused to talk with the PLO. Today, leaders from Israel and the United States negotiate directly with Palestinian representatives. Israel and the PLO recognize each other's right to exist. The PLO Charter calling for Israel's destruction was amended. King Hassan met with Israeli leaders when no other Arab government leaders would. He was an ally of the West and maintained relations with the United States and Israel. King Hassan offset the potential consequences of these relationships by playing an active role in Arab summits and Islamic conferences. The king maintained a moderate balance amongst the radical and conservative regimes in the Middle East. Under King Hassan's reign, Morocco became a meeting place for

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<sup>259</sup> Pennell, *Morocco since 1830*, 378-379.

<sup>260</sup> Ross, *Missing Peace*, 501-502.

secret and public gatherings with Israeli and American leaders, in addition to numerous Arab delegations.

## SECTION FOUR

“Everyone knows that Morocco is a nation with only one desire: to work in peace with all people, be they from the north, south, east or west.”

“Those who believe in the Book – as we do – know that peace is preferable to war, fraternity to hatred, harmony to discord, construction to ruin, and smiles to tears.”

“To serve the cause of peace! A king can have no greater ambition.”

“The duty of a sovereign is to keep his nation on this road, reigning over the heart and spirit of his people, as they reign over his. I know the Moroccan people, for I descend directly from them.”

“My wish for the Moroccan people is that they should live in peace, and be granted the social justice which they so ardently desire. This is the end to which we are all striving. I am sure that with the help of Him on whom we all depend, we shall be victorious.”

- His Majesty King Hassan II (1929 – 1999)



Sources:

“King Hassan II”. Picture. <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/Hassan.html> (accessed July 8, 2007).

Quotes - King Hassan II, *The Challenge: The Memoirs of King Hassan II of Morocco*, (London: Macmillan London Limited, 1978)



## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the early years of his reign, King Hassan faced a number of threats to the Moroccan throne. A powerful force of nationalism in Morocco developed during the French Protectorate. With the backing of the nationalist groups, King Mohammed and Crown Prince Hassan achieved independence from France. The nationalists eventually developed into opposition groups that demanded political change. The groups were the basis for political and civil unrest in the government subsequent to King Hassan assuming power. There were five constitutions in Morocco during King Hassan's reign. The various constitutions show the difficulty King Hassan faced in maintaining power in Morocco.<sup>261</sup> As a method to protect his monarchy, King Hassan utilized the Moroccan armed forces, but high ranking military officers eventually betrayed him. He later realized that his initial method of maintaining power, focusing primarily on the armed forces, was an oversight.

In addition to domestic challenges, regional factors also had the potential to destabilize the monarchy. The conflict in the Western Sahara coupled with Algeria's support for the Western Sahara's independence caused an imbalance of power in the region and was another factor weakening King Hassan's throne. To offset the threat, King Hassan used the conflict to regain domestic allies. The king and the political parties agreed that the acquisition of the Western Sahara was imperative to Morocco's integrity. Lastly, the exportation of President Nasser's radical and socialist

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<sup>261</sup> Pennell, *Morocco since 1830*, 318.

viewpoints in the Arab world caused concern for the monarchy. He divided radical and conservative regimes in the Middle East.

To counteract the threats to the monarchy, King Hassan formed alliances with countries beyond the *Maghrebi* states. He entered into economic and military arrangements with France, Israel, the United States and Soviet Union. He balanced relations with western countries by taking an equally active role in radical Arab regimes. The king used his spiritual authority to guide adversaries. His moderate approach in the numerous summits he hosted in Morocco gave him stature as a mediator between conservative and radical Arab regimes. In spite of the risks of being isolated by Arab regimes, the benefits were far greater. King Hassan carefully assessed the risks associated with dealing with the United States, Soviet Union, Israel and other Arab countries. Morocco's willingness to enter into an alliance with Israel guided the way for a mutually beneficial relationship that was cultivated for decades. Morocco and Israel shared similarities such as preventing the spread of radicalism and guaranteeing a reasonable quality of life for their Jewish population. The two countries created a genuine connection that went from a military alliance into a partnership for peace. Although many Jews migrated to Israel in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, King Hassan later encouraged them to return to Morocco. This created an industry of tourism and better living conditions for the new Jewish residents.

King Hassan played a crucial role in the development of relations between parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflicts. He acted as a moderator between the West and Arab regimes. His mediation efforts with Israel did not begin until after the

1973 war. King Hassan was the second leader (after President Sadat of Egypt) to engage in relations with Israel. The king also assisted the United States in negotiating peace between Israel and the Palestinians. King Hassan possessed the ability to make alliances with western countries due to his exposure to both cultures. One perspective was Moroccan, and the other was European. Both were equally important to him.<sup>262</sup> While it has been argued that King Hassan was only friendly to United States for military and economic aid, this thesis demonstrates that King Hassan's actions indicated he was true moderator of peace.

King Hassan's remained true to his moderate government and played a role in mediating peace between radical and conservative states and with Israel. This may have secured Morocco military aid, but it ultimately improved conditions in the country. King Hassan's relationship with Israel opened the tourism industry to Jews and improved living condition for Jews inside the country. King Hassan pressed Morocco into being one of the forefront Arab countries by attaining peace and stability with the Arab states and Israel. He was a descendent of Prophet Mohammed, the commander of the faithful and "the great survivor."<sup>263</sup> He ruled Morocco for over 38 years and stood true to the motto of the country...God, the country, the King.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Howe, *Prince and I*, 173.

<sup>263</sup> Hughes, *Morocco under King Hassan*, 1.

<sup>264</sup> Gouvernement Du Royaume du Maroc, "Institutions," <http://.maroc.ma/>, (accessed November 1, 2007).

## APPENDICES

## Appendix A.

### The League of Arab States.

Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and sometimes Libya form the area known as the *Maghreb* – the north-western most point in Africa. Arabs constitute a majority in the following countries: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.



Source: “The League of Arab States.” Map. Arab Strategies for the Global Era.  
[http://arabstrategies.org/Images/ArabRegion/Flags/arab\\_world.gif](http://arabstrategies.org/Images/ArabRegion/Flags/arab_world.gif). (accessed June 14, 2007). This map does not contain the Islands of Comoros.

## Appendix B.

### Partition of Morocco under the French and Spanish Protectorates.

Morocco was divided between Spain and France in 1912. Spain occupied an area in the north and in the south of the country. The Spanish controlled area in the south is located right above the Spanish Sahara. The city of Tangier (on the northern tip) became an international zone in 1923. The majority of the Jewish population resided in French Morocco.

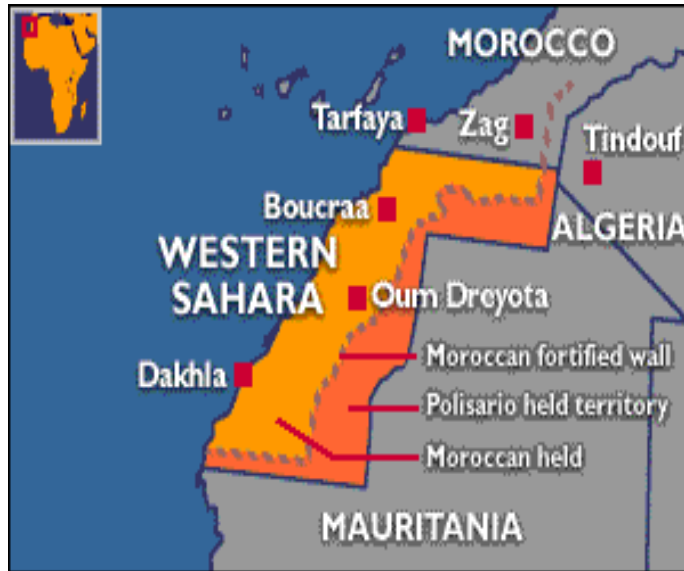


Source: "Division of Morocco." Map. French Morocco. [http://worldstatesmen.org/colonial\\_moroc.jpg](http://worldstatesmen.org/colonial_moroc.jpg) (accessed June 18, 2007).

## Appendix C.

### Division in the Western Sahara.

The line down the center of this map represents the fortified wall in the Western Sahara. It is over 2,000 kilometers long and divides the country between the Moroccan held territory and the Polisario held territory.

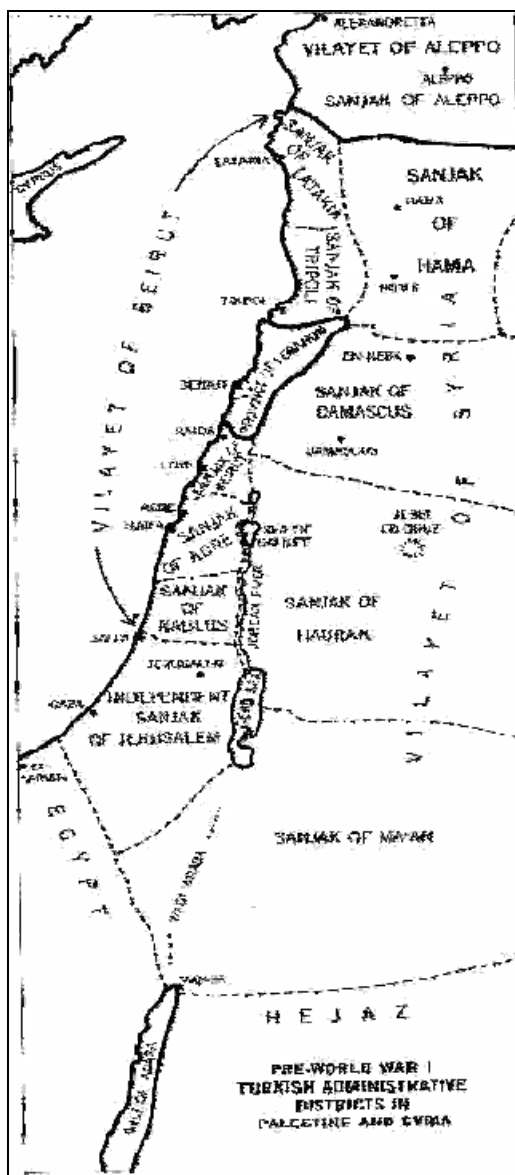


Source: "Division in the Western Sahara." Map. <http://www.msu.edu/> (accessed July 1, 2007).

## Appendix D.

## The Area of Palestine During the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottomans did not control Palestine as a single unit and the name “Palestine” did not appear on the map. The surrounding areas were divided into *vilayets* (provinces) and *sanjaks* (districts).



Source: "Palestine under Turkish Rule: 1517-1917". Map.  
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/ottomap.html> (accessed  
 November 30, 2007).



## Appendix E.

### Map of Palestine 1947.

This shows the Jewish settlements in Palestine before the creation of the state of Israel.

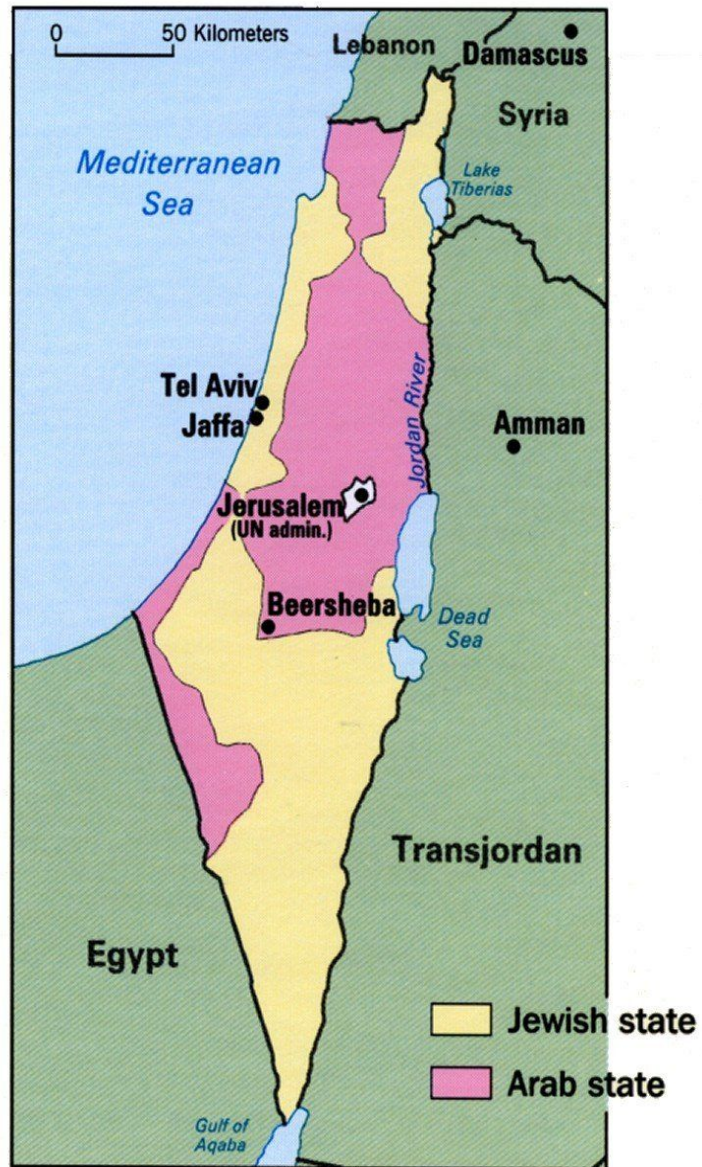


Source: "Jewish Settlements in Palestine." Map. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/Israel/> (accessed July 21, 2007).

## Appendix F.

### Map of the UN Partition Plan 1947.

The partition plan was rejected by Arab states.

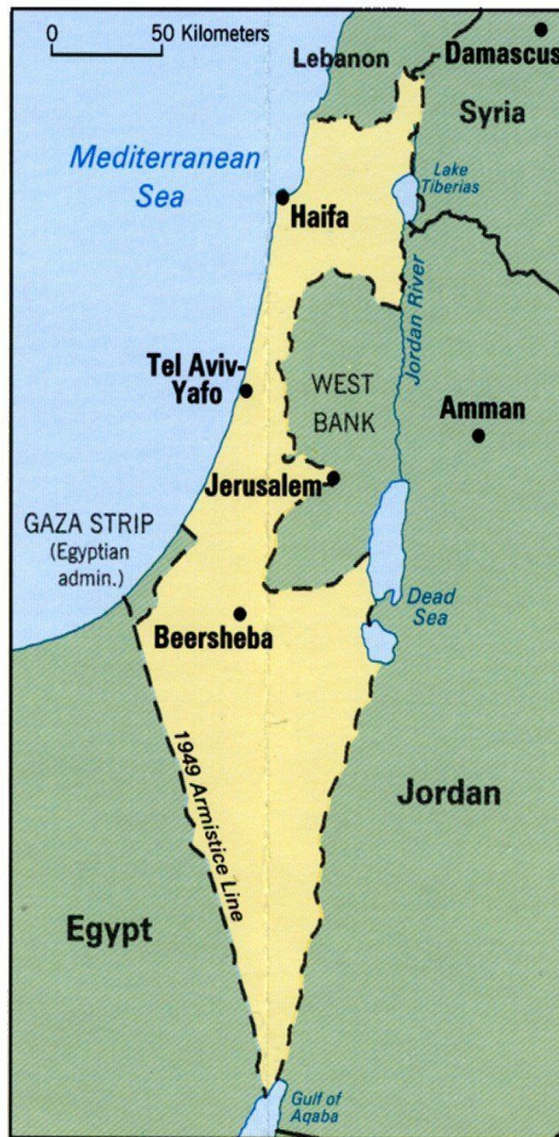


Source: "The UN Partition Plan of Palestine." Map. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/Israel/> (accessed July 21, 2007).

## Appendix G.

### Map of Israel 1949-1967.

After the 1948 War of Independence, Israel gained territory that was not mandated to them in the original UN Partition Plan.



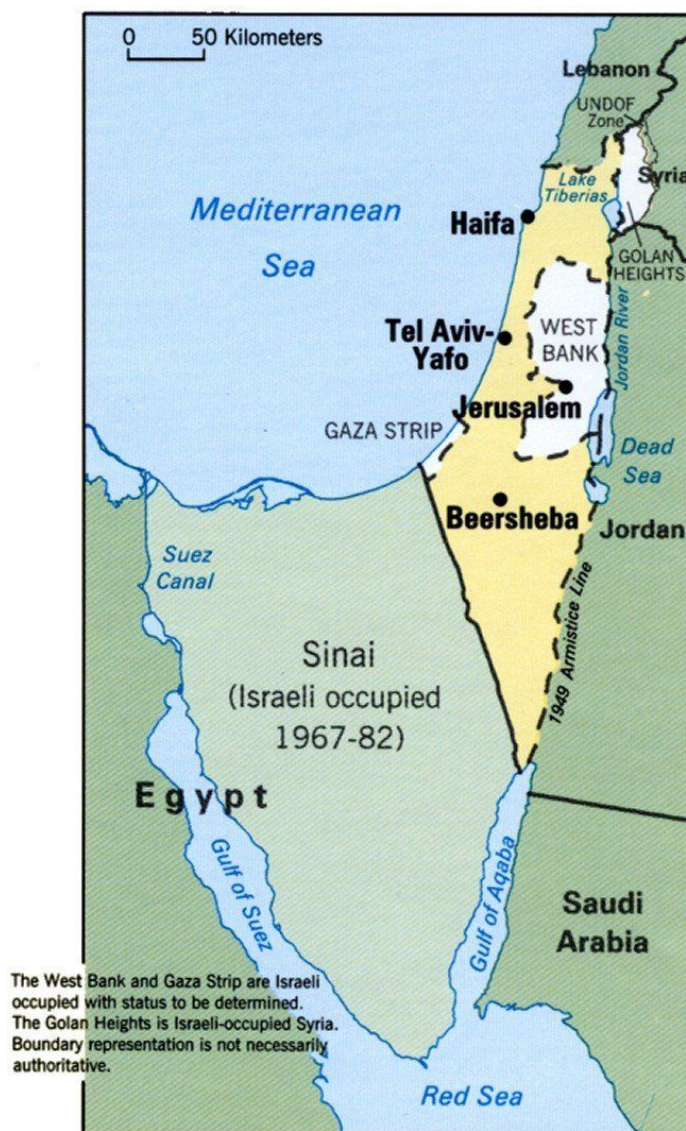
Source: "Israel 1949-1967." Map. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/israel/> (accessed July 21, 2007).



## Appendix H.

### Israel After the 1967 War.

Israel occupied the Golan Heights (Syria), the West Bank (Jordan), the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip (Egypt).



Source: "Israel After the 1967 War." Map. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/israel/> (accessed July 21 2007).

## Appendix I.

### Jewish Immigration to Israel.

These tables show the number of Jews that have migrated to Israel since 1948 and their country of origin. Palestine lost the Arab majority and this became a factor in hostilities for years to come.

<b>Immigrants to Israel by Year of Immigration 1948-1996</b>	
1948-1951	688,000
1952-59	272,000
1960-69	374,000
1970-79	346,000
1980-89	154,000
1990-1996	737,000

<b>Immigrants to Israel by Continent of Origin 1948-1996</b>	
Europe	58%
Africa	18%
Asia	15%
America & Oceania	8%
Unknown	1%

Source: "Immigrants to Israel." Table. <http://www.mfa.gov.il/> (accessed November 9, 2007).

Appendix J.

Prime Ministers of Israel.

Israel's leaders, from the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 to the present.

<b>Prime Ministers of Israel</b>	<b>Dates in Office</b>
David Ben-Gurion	1948-1953 1955-1963
Moshe Sharett	1954-1955
Levi Eshkol	1963-1969
Golda Meir	1969-1974
Yitzhak Rabin	1974-1977 1992-1995
Menachem Begin	1977-1983
Yitzhak Shamir	1983-1984 1986-1992
Shimon Peres	1984-1986 1995-1996
Benjamin Netanyahu	1996-1999
Ehud Barak	1999-2001
Ariel Sharon	2001-2006
Ehud Olmert	2006- to present

Source: "The Prime Ministers of Israel." Table. <http://www.mfa.gov.il/> (accessed October 21, 2007).

## GLOSSARY

*Aliyah* - series of Jewish emigrations to Israel. Literally meaning “ascending.”

*Amir al-Mu'mimin* - refers to Commander of the Faithful. This religious title is given to the king of Morocco, both in tradition, and according to the Constitution.

*bilad al-makhzan* - the central government in Morocco, responsible for paying taxes. Can also be transliterated as *bled el makhzan*.

*bilad al-siba* - the dissident territory in Morocco, where the central government was not established. Residents were not responsible for paying taxes. Can also be transliterated as *bled as siba*.

*berm* - sophisticated sand wall in the Western Sahara. The wall divides the Western Sahara between Moroccan held territory and Polisario held territory.

*dahir* - a government proclamation or decree.

*dhimma* - Islamic principle that subjected minorities such as Christians and Jews to high taxation and inferior positions. Also referred to as *ahl-al dhimma*.

*Dhimmi* - a Christian or Jew living in the Islamic state and acknowledging the domination of Islam. The *dhimmis* were protected by the Sultan.

*jizyah* - heavy land and poll tax that was applied to Christians and Jews living under Islamic domination.

*Makhzan* - the central system of government in Morocco, literally meaning “storehouse.”

*Maghreb* - the Arabic name for the area consisting of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya. Literally meaning “the land of the west.” Can also be transliterated as *Maghrib*.

*mellah* - Jewish quarter of a city or town in Morocco.

*Moulay* - Title of respect, like Lord. This title is used to address a sultan or *sharif* (noble descent). Can also be transliterated as *mulay* or *mawlay*. If the person's name is Mohammed, *Sidi* is used as a title of respect rather than *Moulay*.

*sharifian* – refers to a person of noble descent, addresses a sultan or *sharif*, a descendent of Prophet Mohammed.

*Sultan Mohammed ben Youssef* – Ruler of Morocco from 1927 to 1961. Father of the late King Hassan II. Also known as King Mohammed V after 1956.



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